

FUGITIVE PIECES
OF
IRISH POLITICS,
DURING THE
ADMINISTRATION
OF
LORD TOWNSHEND.

L O N D O N :

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MDCCLXXII.



The Gentleman who formerly favoured the Public with Extracts from the History of BARATARIA, having obtained the entire Manuscript, has here communicated the whole of it to the Public.

THE last Assembly of the States, immediately after they had granted government an augmentation of military strength, and supplies of unusual magnitude, were summoned before the awful tribunal of Sancho, where they were reviled, insulted and discharged.—They were discharged, without having been permitted to deliberate on any ordinance of public concern, or exercise one power of legislation, excepting only that of munificence and taxation. It was in vain the voice of the people echoed from every quarter of the kingdom, complaining that the reward of their liberality had been a privation of their rights, and that parliament had been discontinued, because government had been satisfied. The deputies of the people have been beyond all example bountiful—but their crime was, that their resolutions were construed to *imply* an opinion, that these bounties being the bounties of the people, *their*

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deputies were more competent to proportion and ascertain them, that the deputies of *government*, which was only to accept them, and accept them with gratitude.——Sancho sat in his castle or cottage (for his habitations, as his habits, were various) superior to any sense of the evils he had occasioned, or the injuries he had inflicted.—The decay of trade, the ruin of public credit, the violation of private engagements, the doubt of every good man, the distrust of all, were the objects and the means of his administration. If he could break the resolution of the virtuous, and disappoint the confidence of honourable engagements, he thought that in the end he might defeat all laudable association, and by bursting the bonds of affinity and connexion, by degrees, dissolve all ties to the country.

There was a man in Barataria, whose name was Henrico: the Count Loftonzo—a man high in rank—eminent in possessions—who inherited the great qualifications of a numerous family;——but in early life so humble had been his condition, that a connexion with an illustrious family was scarcely able to preserve his person from obscurity, or his circumstances from indigence.—The near relations of affinity seemed to have had a laudable direction, when for a course of years they had been employed in furnishing shelter to the man in Barataria who most stood in need of it.—Don John a Chief of
high

high rank and an illustrious house had long enjoyed the first power and most extensive influence in Barataria.—To this person the Count had united himself in early life; before wealth and honours had directed their current towards him; and whilst as yet fortune continued to frown, where nature had frowned before.—Don John was a man who to *eminent* qualities added unusual *softness* of soul.—He recollected, that Henrico was his kinsman, which is a circumstance among the ties of humanity.—He was poor and John had compassion of him.—He was friendless and he acknowledged him.—He therefore employed his powerful interposition, to procure a subsistence, from the State for Henrico.—And even condescended to attend to female infirmity, so far, as by a public stipend to enable his wife to purchase certain silken apparel, and play at certain costly games, which, tho' they were above her rank and fortune, were not above her ambition or her vanity. Thus it happened that Henrico had faithfully adhered to Don John, whilst the latter had *power* or the former *wanted protection*.—But when Sancho commenced his attack on the freedom of Barataria, by depriving her of her Cortes.—Henrico, through the wantonness of fortune, had become enriched by great possessions—distinguished by honours, and fortified by powerful dependencies. Sancho judged that as Henrico no longer stood in need of assist-

ance, he no longer remembered the assistance he had received.—He applied himself to the Count—and besought him, “ to cast away
 “ from his mind all idle obligations, and separate himself from all connexion with
 “ Don John his kinsman—that he should
 “ not conform his conduct to the dictates of
 “ gratitude, lest it might appear the result
 “ of dependance—that he should join and associate his *great powers*, his *great connexions*, his *honourable name*, his *high abilities*, his *personal fortitude*, and *captivating manners*, with the Court of Barataria, under the direct influence and immediate superintendence of the Spanish ministry. Thus that the *honours* of Old Spain, and the *plunder* of Barataria would dignify him, and maintain his *dependants*.”

Thus far had the artifice of Sancho apply'd itself to the *weakness* and *vanity* of Henrico.—And though this address was in itself likely to be crowned with success, yet as the friends of Barataria were not to be indulged with one cast on the die in their favour, matters of *probability only* were rejected, as insufficient authorities for entering upon the great project of Sancho's administration.

Absurdity and ambition, tis true, had occupied a fair proportion of the mind of Henrico, yet did it likewise entertain several humbler guests—amongst which the historians of this day have enumerated a *perception of danger*. Great as his possessions were, the
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tenure was precarious.—They were not the *rights of inheritance*, nor the *acquirements of purchase*; but we rather consider them as enjoyed under the title of conquest. The rightful heir had, as historians relate, been disappointed by the testament of the late Count Loftonzo Hume-Eli, over whose imbecility Henrico so far triumphed, as to compel to a surrender of his maternal demesnes into the hands even of Henrico himself. But still, tho' the enjoyment of those possessions was delightful, the duration of that enjoyment appeared to the fears of Henrico as capable of doubt. The free-will gifts of captivity, and the disposing powers of mental incapacity, were matters at which the laws might cavil.

This apprehension in the mind of Henrico was to be a new key to his conversion; for the management of which, an instrument entirely proportioned to the purpose had been selected.

There was at that time in Barataria a man named *Philip*——who was by birth a Moor, by profession an advocate. He was become the first companion and counsellor of Sancho; into the dark repository of whose bosom did he pour the sallies of his jocularity, and the secrets of his administration. Don Philip was likewise *General Attorney* of the States, and Judge of the Testamentary Court.

Whether we consider the qualities he had, or those he had not, we find him alike accomplished for the present undertaking. He
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was a man formed by nature, and fashioned by long practice for all manner of court intrigue. His stature was low, so as to excite neither envy nor observation.—His countenance dismal—his public manners grave, and his address humble. But as in public he covered his prostitution by a solemnity of carriage, so in private he endeavoured to *captive* by convivial humour; and to discountenance all public virtue, by the exercise of a perpetual, and sometimes not unsuccessful irony.

By these arts he recommended himself to the late Cardinal Lapidaro, and Don Thomas del Cartero; the two most crafty statesmen—the De Retz and Machiavel of their age; under whom he studied, and against whom, *at times*, he exercised the mystery of politics.

To these qualifications Don Philip added an extraordinary magnificence of living.—His table was furnished with every thing that splendor could suggest, or luxury consume; and his profusion and policy united to solicit a multitude of guests. To his house then resorted all those who wished *through him* to obtain, or to learn *from him* to enjoy without remorse, those public emoluments which are the purchase of public infidelity.

Amongst the visitors of Don Philip was a youth, hitherto of fair fame and gentle endowments—Don Helena the Civilian—who lately accepted the office of menial Counsellor

fellor to Loftonzo. Through him therefore a new communication was to be opened with the Count.

Thus by an unsuspected channel were new terrors added to the natural timidity of Henrico. He was informed “ that the title to
 “ his extensive territory depended on a testa-
 “ ment, the validity of which was deter-
 “ minable within Don Philip’s jurisdiction.
 “ —That by adhering to old engagements
 “ and national regards, he would forfeit that
 “ *friendly disposition* in his judge, which is
 “ so necessary to *equal* justice.—That the
 “ final adjudication of this great cause resided
 “ in the supreme assembly of the grandees
 “ in Spain, where Sancho had a suffrage;
 “ which suffrage the Count might ensure or
 “ alienate, as his conduct should be friendly
 “ or hostile to his government in Barataria.
 “ That in times of simplicity and ignorance,
 “ the Spanish nobles had restrained their
 “ judgments within the rigid precepts of
 “ law, and the austerities of justice; but
 “ that of late, refinement of manners had
 “ broken through those harsh restrictions,
 “ and legal severity yielded to the softer in-
 “ fluence of favour and affection.”

He proceeded to pour into the ears of the Count, instances of this high refinement in the grandees of Spain; and one especially, which had fallen even within the limited knowledge of Loftonso himself, *The late de-*
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cision in favour of the Count Pomfretto respecting the collieries of Andalusia.

These arguments made a sufficient impression on the mind of Henrico. But Sancho having particular reason to know how little reliance is to be had on the promises of fear, or the attachments of infidelity, thought that no security had been taken for the allegiance of the Count, whilst there yet remained any further bond, whereby to render the tie indissoluble. The considerations of fame and fortune had been notably discussed and dexterously reconciled.—And though views of ambition and interest had gained ground on the mind of Loftonzo, there was another power that held the dominion of his soul.

The Countess his consort was a lady of singular spirit and magnanimity—and though her birth and fortune had been beneath mediocrity, yet did she possess a stately and aspiring mind, which taught her to forget the humility of her origin. She preserved that sovereign authority over the Count, which gave satisfaction to every advocate for *female pre-eminence*,—she was his superior in capacity—she was his superior as his creditor.—For the Countess had *legal* demands upon her Lord, which though he was crowned with wealth and honours, yet he was unable to discharge; thus his subjection was the subjection of an insolvent debtor. The Countess therefore had been compelled to transfer her thoughts of posterity, and the reversions of
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her grandeur, to her niece *Donna Dorothea Del Monrofo*.—And here, did the gravity of history and importance of the subject admit it.—Here could we rest for pages, from the travel of story, and indulge the purest rapture in contemplating the perfections of this lovely maiden. Her stature was majestic, but her air and demeanour was *nature itself*.—The peculiar splendor of her carriage was softened and subdued by the most affable condescension; and as sensibility gave a lustre to her eye, so discretion gave a security to her heart.—And indeed whilst her charms inspired universal rapture, the authority of her innocence regulated and restrained it.—The softest roses that ever youth and modesty poured out on beauty, glowed in the lip of Dorothea—Her cheeks were the bloom of Hebe, and the purity of Diana was in her breast.—Never did beauty appear so amiable, nor virtue so adorned, as in this incomparable virgin! In her progress through the courts of Arragon and Navarre she had been exhibited to the Princes of the continent, and returned in the possession of humble manners.—Several had solicited her in marriage, but the refined policy of her protectors always interposed against her, and reserved her to become the *innocent* instrument of a national evil.—But let us not be supposed to glance a thought against your purity, lovely Dorothea!—Whatever be your fortune, or wherever you go, you will *retain yourself*.—If

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in publick splendor and exalted station, you will carry with you humility and moderation——if inauspicious destiny sink you to the rank of humble condition, your beauties will adorn, and your virtues dignify your retreat!

Sancho some time after his arrival in Barataria, sustained an heavy affliction, which was attended by one notable peculiarity—that of being the single instance, wherein the sentiments of the Baratarians and their Governor had been united or similar.—Death had deprived him of the Baroness Feraro his consort—a lady of high birth and fortune, adorned by the most eminent virtues and amiable manners.—Wherever her influence could extend, it was the influence of benefaction—and where her power could not gratify, her affability conciliated. To her Lord she left every thing to lament—she was the splendor of his station; she was the solace of his *hours of sobriety*——and if any thing like refinement grew about his palace or his person, it was the hand of the Baroness that planted it there.

And here must we give the praises which are due to the generosity and candour of the people of Barataria. At this time, though they saw that the constitution of their country had been invaded, their commerce destroyed, and their condition desperate——yet did they here forget *themselves*, and cast away from their minds all sense of *their injuries*.—Here, generous Compassion suspended their
just

just resentments—Here their lamentations were poured out at the tomb of departed excellence, and here did they mingle their tears with the tears of their undoer. And indeed the history of all ages have represented those benevolent islanders as a people zealous to bear testimony to superior merit, wherever they have found it—whether amongst adversaries, or friends—in the camp of the enemy, or the *laurels of a competitor*.—On this event they lamented, that so much virtue had *departed*—that so little had been *left behind*.

Though this was matter of sincere concern to Sancho's heart, it however became a new circumstance of his power to his administration.—The first station in female pre-eminence was now unoccupied; and there was a vacancy, as it were, in the first office under the Governor—even a participation of the *throne of viceregency*.

As this was the *first office* open to female ambition, it is not to be wondered at that the Countess Loftonzo was the first to aspire at it.—She communicated the phrenzy of this sentiment to the Count—adding, in an extacy of grandeur, “ that the world should
 “ see her niece, Donna Dorothea del Mon-
 “ roso, raise her head above the proudest fa-
 “ milies of the island—that she would sus-
 “ tain with *dignity*, and embellish by her *ac-*
 “ *complishments*, the vacant chair in the cham-
 “ ber of Carousals.”—And, thus far in-
 deed,

deed, the Countess had spoken the language of truth——and our vows should have accompanied her's to Heaven, were the accomplishment of them to be the felicity of Dorothea.—But, lovely maiden, may your charms never be bartered in unwarrantable traffic!—may Fortune nor artifice, never place you in a station to which the most refined attachment shall not select you!—May you fill the high rank to which your bright endowments give you a title, but never become the *splendid* mourner of a parent's ambition!——Sancho saw this extravagance growing in the mind of the Countess, and determined to cultivate it.—Every thing that *incoherent sentences* and a *distracted manner* could suggest, was accepted by the Countess as confirmation of her wishes; a *natural perplexity*, and *embarrassment of elocution*, were the *confusion of real passion*—and *ambiguous inference*, as it was unintelligible, was supposed to convey a *solemn declaration of love*.

This, however, was sufficient to satisfy the mind of the Countess; and therefore Sancho obtained the object of his industry.—He saw not, it is true, the roses in the cheek of Dorothea, but he enumerated the suffragans in the train of Loftonzo.—As to the Countess, her imagination was on fire!—It already presented to her her niece, the incomparable Dorothea, crowned *Vice-queen of the island of Barataria*; her Lord Loftonzo distinguished by all the coronets of all his ancestry; and the

the *deputyship* of the island conferred on him, at the departure of Sancho. Every thing was accomplished in her ardent mind; and sports and pastimes—tilts and tournaments—dance and festivity were proclaimed throughout the castle and the forests of Rafarmo.—The smile of Dorothea was to be the prize of chivalry; and her hand in the dance, the trophy of the Governor's pre-eminence!

Thus were the politics of Sancho brought to a fair issue.—His confidence in the Count was not now written in *the sand of promises*, or the *frail memorial of benefits conferred*;—it was now built upon a rock—The bonds of Loftonzo were links of iron.

At this critical season, letters came to Sancho from the government of Spain, full of warlike rumours, and threatening general commotions. These letters brought intelligence, “That the monarch of the western isles had declared war against Don Francisco Bucarelli, the Governor of Buenos Ayres; and that as the Court of Spain might possibly assist and avow Don Francisco, it was necessary that Barataria should be rendered defensible; her armies augmented, her forts repaired, and her garrisons supplied with the necessaries of war.”

Sancho wrote a dispatch to the Viscount Boreoso, Prime Minister of Spain (of whose character and conduct we shall hereafter have occasion more fully to treat) which he sealed with his own hand, and which he committed
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to the conveyance of Don Edwards Swanzero, his friend, his counsellor, and his musician. And, however unaccountable it may seem to posterity, certain it is, that of all Sancho's retainers, this Swanzero held the greatest share in his confidence.—He was then chosen to be the trusty messenger; and as the winds were adverse at the capital, he was obliged to take the southern circuit, and embark for Spain at the port of O'Corko—with the strictest injunctions, however, to yield to no temptations of delay, nor even to pay a one-night's visit to the old Bishop of *Toledo*, whose villa was within a league of O'Corko; notwithstanding the partialities and favours, with which this right Rev. Prelate has been accustomed to entertain the *family* of Swanzero.

In this letter he informed the Viscount,
 “ That through the obstinacy of the feudal
 “ Lords, and Don John the commoner, the
 “ country of Barataria had been reduced to
 “ poverty and tumult; that the revenues
 “ were diminished, the exchequer almost
 “ bankrupt, and government had neither legal
 “ authority nor public confidence, to enable
 “ them to borrow money.—That for his
 “ part, he had acted as became a faithful
 “ servant and a prudent governor, in this
 “ season of scarcity and discredit—that
 “ he had stopped payment of the pensions to
 “ the widows of the deceased officers, and
 “ withheld the wages of all public artificers.
 “ That

“ That this instance of frugality and modera-
 “ tion, had again enabled the royal munifi-
 “ cence to take its course, which was a *cur-*
 “ *rent* that, under the auspices of his Ma-
 “ jesty’s arm, no opposition——no pleas of
 “ incapacity or famine, should ever obstruct
 “ or retard.—That the Princess Dowager of
 “ Naples had been *gratified*, by the grant of
 “ a considerable pension to her favourite, Don
 “ Jeremiah Dysonzo ; not only to himself,
 “ but to his *posterity* ; notwithstanding *the*
 “ *solemnity of the royal word pledged to the*
 “ *contrary*. And that he had taken this op-
 “ portunity of informing the Baratarians,
 “ once for all, *that the power of the monarch*
 “ *would be low indeed, if his promises were to*
 “ *be considered as restrictions on his will.*——
 “ That a stipend on Barataria had rewarded
 “ the fidelity and service of Don Bradshozo,
 “ the friend and assistant, the scrivener and
 “ the slave of the Duke Fitzroyola ; a noble-
 “ man who shall transmit his name with ho-
 “ nour to posterity, as the great author of
 “ that illustrious policy, which finally trans-
 “ ferred to the *Cortes*, those rights of elec-
 “ tion, which formerly resided in, and fre-
 “ quently divided, *the people.*”——That,
 without boasting of his services, for he was
 not vain !—He must further inform the Vis-
 count, “ That where any of the great offices
 “ in Barataria produced enormous stipends to
 “ the occupier, and no benefit to the public,
 “ he had thought it necessary to his Majesty’s
 “ honour

“ honour and service, that there should be a
 “ proper augmentation of the salary—and
 “ that he had accordingly made an annual
 “ addition of four thousand crowns to the sa-
 “ lary of one of the King’s servants, as a
 “ reward and indemnification for his trouble
 “ and expence, in collecting a revenue, the
 “ whole of which had, by royal grant,
 “ become his own property.—That after
 “ such acts of *public service*, not even the
 “ stoppages made on widows, and the in-
 “ firm; the deduction of wages, and œco-
 “ nomy towards the poor, were yet sufficient
 “ to furnish government with the means of
 “ fortifying the island.—That if war was
 “ *probable*, money was *indispensable*; and that
 “ supplies could, *at that time*, be only pro-
 “ cured by calling the Cortes together; *as*
 “ *delicacy and reserve ought to recommend the*
 “ *beginning of every great project*; and *as the*
 “ *people were not yet entirely reconciled to the*
 “ *idea of being taxed only by the private coun-*
 “ *cil of the monarch*.—That in order to
 “ render the convention of the national as-
 “ sembly practicable, and its consequences
 “ auspicious, the great Count Loftonzo,
 “ with his household, had enlisted under the
 “ royal banner—and that, as the Count’s
 “ fortitude and fidelity were to be suspected,
 “ he should take all precautions to prevent
 “ his *desertion*; that, during the truce, he
 “ would have him narrowly watched in his
 “ castle, and, in the day of trial, he would
 “ place

“ place him and his retainers in the front of
 “ the battle. And thus, by exhibiting this
 “ *glaring* instance of apostacy, should he give
 “ such a wound to the credit of all private
 “ faith and public consistency, the bonds of
 “ honour, of gratitude, and of blood, as
 “ must ultimately tend to dissolve all those
 “ obstinate connexions, which have hitherto
 “ been an obstruction to the power of the
 “ crown.”

The spirited endeavours of Sancho to propagate private perfidy, and purchase the violation of public trusts, were not indeed confined to the nobleman of Rafarmo. The whole powers of seduction were now employed against the country. To every man who had a vote in the Cortes, was offered that proportion of the public plunder, at which even his own partiality could estimate his own merit.—Every office had been exposed to sale, the possessor of which was suspected from his integrity, or unmanageable from his independant spirit.—New boards were held out to the interested; and to obtain titles and honours, it was only necessary, *to be vain and to be venal*.—Even holy bishopricks themselves, hitherto held sacred and unsaleable, were to be taxed with symoniacal annuities to purchase the surrender of civil offices, or hawked about the island, as a merchandize in traffic to any power or connexion, that was enabled to become purchaser, by a property of votes in the assembly of the people.

And not only the vices, but the virtues of the people were made instruments against them; for, as avarice is ever rapacious, and ambition aspiring, so *generosity* is but too often necessitous, and *benevolence* deluded by a glimpse of power to display itself. The administration of justice through the Sheriffs of the several counties, was to be bought and sold by parliamentary conduct; and the army was stationed either for insult or protection, as favour or resentment disposed the arrangement.

Never did the mysteries of corruption make such a progress as at this period.—The possessions of the incorruptible.—The reversions of old age—the offices of those who had been purchasers by service, but were not of the senate—even the slender support of tottering infirmity, were all bartered and sold to those, who had the resolution to *sacrifice their country*.

And here we should be happy, in reciting the catalogue of the seduced and the undone, —of those who stooped their heads to corruption, and opened their hands to gain.—Happy should we be if the base and the ignoble, the desperate of condition, and the lost to fame, were alone to be found!

Whilst this traffic was carried on in Barataria, unfortunately it was the only trade which at this time the country had to boast of,—the balance of which commerce, being
indeed

indeed against them, was likely to be *the loss of their liberty*.

During this great investigation of resources, and play at politicks,—when the fore-tellers for administration counted a majority of twenty against their country; it came to pass that the King of the islands struck his flag to Don Francisco Bucarelli; and therefore the Governor of Buenos Ayres condescended to accept a temporary accommodation, which had been proposed between them.

The assembling the Cortes in Barataria was not now *necessary*, on the principle of preservation; but it was judged *expedient* on the construction of policy. The triumph of the crown over the constitutional dignity of that great assembly, and the people of which it was representative, was thought by the jealous friends of power, as imperfect and incompetent, until it should be reconvened *before the very Governor*, who had been the immediate instrument of the injuries and insults they had received. Sancho's heart was devoted to the idea of adding this wreath to the laurels of America. And indeed it was a heart composed of the most extraordinary materials in nature!—But as we shall hereafter in the course of this history, give posterity an entire portrait of this wonderful character, as we shall for the present proceed to relate those several parts of his conduct, which are but so many *features* of the great *piece* we shall attempt to draw.

Inspired with the noble ambition of deciding finally, if possible, this great constitutional point against the freedom of Barataria, and of *insulting* where he had *detracted*, Sancho assembled the venerable Junto of the cabinet, and stating them to his *determination*, he desired their *counsel*.

The members of this political conclave were persons of the first offices in the state, whose advice had always the greatest *authority* with the Governor, as it was always accompanied with the greatest *acquiescence*. And as we may hereafter in the progress of this national story have frequent occasion to consider them, we shall here give an enumeration of them in detail.

This council consisted of Baron Goreanilli, *an Italian*, the Inquisitorial Justiciary.----- Don Francisco Andrea del Bumperoso, President of the Academy of Letters; and the Chevalier Don Georgio Buticartney, a Polish Knight; admitted as a Secretary, *not a Minister*. Don Antonio, the Precedenza,----- Don John Alnagero, prime Advocate,----- Don Philip the Moor, and Don Godfredo Lilly, Solicitor of the Crown.

Before this great assembly did Sancho open this mighty project of his soul.-----He spoke to them, through the mouth of Don Philip, and informed them, “ in the first place, of
“ *the success of his Majesty's bribes all over*
“ *the island*.-----He told them of his determination to call the assemblies *before him-*
“ *self*

“ *self*—as a means of degrading the Com-
 “ mons, and asserting the authority of his
 “ own *protest*. That it would be an experi-
 “ ment without hazard; as it was not the
 “ season for asking any thing *on his part*—
 “ and the virtue of a prorogation was ever at
 “ hand, to prevent any acquisition in behalf
 “ of the people. That as things stood at
 “ present, it appeared improbable that the
 “ Spanish Court would continue *him* in the
 “ government of the island, when the cri-
 “ tical time should come, in which the army
 “ and the revenues were to be negotiated in
 “ the Cortes, unless he were to exhibit some
 “ antecedent exemplifications of his prowess.
 “ —That the success of this short con-
 “ vention might render probable his retain-
 “ ing the dominion of the island for another
 “ year.—But above all, that the manly
 “ protest with which he concluded the last
 “ meeting, was not perfect or consummate,
 “ being as yet the declaration of *one of the*
 “ *parties only*, and rejected from the journals
 “ of the other.—Whereas, if the Com-
 “ mons could be *brought* to pour out their
 “ incense, and load him with encomiums,
 “ it would be deemed, that they relinquished
 “ their claims with their resentments; and
 “ their conduct would imply not merely an
 “ *acquiescence*, but a formal *ratification* of the
 “ charge, which he boasted to have brought
 “ against them.—Moreover, that the great
 “ Count Loftonzo was deeply impressed with
 “ those

“ those sentiments.—And that if promises,
 “ made without limitation, recommended
 “ by oaths, and confirmed by *some* perfor-
 “ mances, were capable of seducing the heart
 “ of man, a majority should be procured to
 “ deliver up this fortress into the hands of
 “ the crown.—And finally, that Don Re-
 “ naldo, the grand Corrigidor of the capital,
 “ was devoted to the interests of the Court;
 “ and would easily obtain from the oppidary
 “ assembly, an address to the Sovereign, pe-
 “ titioning for a general convention of the
 “ States.—And at the same time, the faith-
 “ ful Renaldo should have the precaution, by
 “ the tenor of this address, to renounce every
 “ constitutional title in the people to the
 “ Cortes—That it should be asked as a
 “ *favour*, not a right—That it should be
 “ *supplication*, and not *claim*.—Thus, the
 “ meeting of the Senate, which would really
 “ be a political experiment, and a probable
 “ confirmation of the bondage of Barataria,
 “ would be trumpeted through the king-
 “ dom, as if it were *a gracious benevolence*,
 “ *yielded to the petition of duty—a royal con-*
 “ *cession to the wishes of the people.*”

Whatever different pursuits, or objects in
 life, may have governed the sentiments of
 the several persons who composed this con-
 clave, certain it is, that there was scarcely
 one of them, who had not an interest in the
 assembling the Cortes at all events. It would
 be the *harvest*, and they were *labourers*—It
 would

would be the *time of service*; and, though their *standing wages* were exorbitant, yet did they moreover expect to receive *daily hire*, and *occasional booty*.—The servants of the law might be appointed itinerant justices, but suffered neither to *travel*, nor to *judge*—in short, to do no part of the duty, but accept the emolument; and Baron Goreanilli, the Italian, imagined that by *being ready* to assist the prolocutor of the nobles, he might perhaps ground a sort of claim to wages, though his services were neither demanded, performed, or expedient.

Amongst those chiefs of consultation, *one* only gave counsel against this favourite measure—Don Antonio, the Precedenza; a man of great consideration!—And, indeed, it is impossible to mention that personage in the page of history, without stopping to make some observation on so extraordinary a character.

Nature had enriched the Precedenza with great endowments.—To a benign and dignified aspect, an address both conciliating and authoritative, did he join the clearest head that ever conceived, and the sweetest tongue that ever uttered, the suggestions of wisdom. He did not, it is true, possess the wit and vivacity of Almagero, nor the political craft or worldly science of Don Philip, *the Moor*; but his understanding was of the first magnitude.—It is however observable of Don Antonio, that, with all those eminent

nent faculties, he never, during the course of a long political life, was united with a party that did not deceive him; and with a temper of mind, unfortunately but too desirous of acquisition, did he share less of the public treasure than almost any man, who had ever looked for favours at the hand of power. For some part of his life, he filled one of the highest offices in judgment; which he executed with such ability, as stands unparalleled in the records of judicature. And as he was raised to that office *for his capacity*, he was dispossessed of it *for his virtue*. With a manly and becoming spirit did Antonio, at this time, stand foremost in difference with the crown. He *disputed* that wicked encroachment, which would strip the representative of the community of their natural and indispensable rights of *originating, adjusting, and proportioning* those supplies, which are ever the free-will gifts of gratitude and love to protection and government.—Though this act of *resistance*, as it was called, did not fall within the exercise of *judicial capacity*, yet as it was an act of *integrity*, it was thought by the court as a disqualification in him for the office of a Judge.—He was therefore dismissed, and a man *better qualified* was appointed to succeed him.

And here should we be happy, if, for the honour of human nature, and the reverence we bear to this illustrious person, we were permitted to pass over the recital of some features

tures which render this piece less admirable !
 —Happy ! if the eminent qualities of this great man did not mix with others in their current, which were sufficient to humble his superiority, and gratify the malice of his enemies.—But *character* would be uninformative to posterity, if it were not to be *fully* delineated : and history a falsehood, if it declare not the *whole* truth.

Though the effects of an enlightened understanding made Antonio perpetually prefer right to wrong,——Though he had no children to provide for, and already enjoyed considerable estates,——Nay, even though some writers have asserted, that he had not the avarice of accumulation, and certainly he had not the necessities of prodigality.—Though he had the mines of Golconda in the exercise of his profession, yet did he sacrifice every thing that was valuable, to an invincible and unaccountable thirst for gain ; and descended from his eminence of character and condition, to the exercise of a low money-traffick ; in which even he is accused, by the writers of his day, of having employed that very *legal* knowledge, which had lately been the honour of his name, and the benefit of the public, in order to defend the bills that he issued, from the controul of the laws ; and frustrate the security with the public had in his counter.—And afterwards having made some atonement to his country, by a spirited resistance to the cabinet subsidy ; he, as it

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were,

were, relented of his reformation——and merely to obtain from Government a *precedency*, which nature had given him before, and which the King could not take from him.——For this preposterous promotion, if such it may be called, did he in the popular assembly, and in the face of the people, not only embrace, but adopt the very child, he before declared to be illegitimate and infamous.—He now protected that subsidy in the Cortes, which he before had so signally abjured in the Cabinet.

And indeed, it was matter of great wonder at that time, that a person of his wisdom should so suddenly shift an opinion.——That one of his dignity of character should adopt inconsistency and degradation——and that a man of the most unparalleled powers of memory should so speedily forget the injuries he had received.

As for his eloquence, it was in its nature peculiar. It flowed in a clear and copious stream, with grace and majesty ; but it never diversified its course, or transgressed its limited boundary.—Through the several regions of argument, it moved with unaltered current, whether it passed through the wilds of America, or the flowry plains of Andalusia :——Good sense, and great comprehension, were the characters of his mind, rather than that strength, and ardour, and variety, which glow in the performances of the antient orators.—He was formed to be *the first*, perhaps,
in

in times of tranquillity, but must have yielded to several, in the days of spirit and of enterprise.—In short, he was a person almost always to be admired, but never much to be feared.

And, indeed, various inconsistencies and irreconcilable qualities, seemed to mix in the character of this great man. It is not enough to say, That he had a mind superior to revenge or personal resentment.—He appeared to have been inspired, as it were, with gratitude for injuries.—As to his legal knowledge, it was incontrovertible; yet, from some peculiarity which ever attended him, certain it is, that even the titles at law, to the very lands he purchased, have been reckoned disputable and precarious.—With the best understanding, he was generally the dupe of the *worst*; and though he had a natural admiration for virtue, yet did he sometimes forsake her, even without temptation.

Here we rest this great character!—And we should rejoice indeed, if historical fidelity had not compelled us to state some shades of it, at which humanity may drop a tear of sympathy; and lament that imperfection of our nature, which ever controuls the arrogance of superiority, and vindicates, in some measure, the equality of man.

Don Antonio was marked, it is true, by some of the infirmities of human kind, but he was distinguished, on the other hand, by great and admirable qualities. Let not then

the insolence of human frailty refuse forgiveness to the former; and may posterity remember *only* the *latter*, and remember them *as objects of imitation!*——

Don Antonio paid the utmost attention to the whole recital of Sancho's politicks. And indeed, amongst the several peculiarities of Antonio, this one was observable,——
 “ That as no man ever spoke so well as
 “ to excite his admiration, so no man
 “ ever spoke so ill as that he did not think
 “ him worthy of attention.” He listened profoundly to the discourse of *every man*; he listened to the sleepy tale of Don Philip, the Moor.

When this elaborate recapitulation of principles and politicks was brought to a conclusion, Don Antonio did not require much time for weighing its import and consequences.—He saw clearly that the rashness of Sancho was not courage, nor the craft of Don Philip wisdom.—He thought the convention of the Cortes, *at that particular time*, was liable to objections, which would occur, perhaps, at no other season.—He therefore gave counsel against it.—He observed, “ That, tho’
 “ the populace frequently misjudge, the
 “ great body of the people are not often, or
 “ long deceived.—That in the present occasion they never would be persuaded, that
 “ the convening this assembly a few months
 “ only before the regular and indispensable
 “ season

“ season of convention, after it had been in-
 “ terrupted in the midst of business, and dis-
 “ continued for above a year, was any other
 “ than *an act of state policy*.——That the
 “ mere power of reviving or continuing a
 “ few laws, without time or opportunity to
 “ alter or amend them, was in truth a small
 “ national concern—Especially as this meet-
 “ ing would interfere with the itinerary
 “ progress of justice, and the season of the
 “ great session was so near at hand, in which
 “ there must be ample time afforded for all
 “ that enquiry and deliberation, which alone
 “ could give weight and authority to laws.
 “ —That the very assembling of the States
 “ would in itself terminate the duration of
 “ several laws, which would otherwise re-
 “ main in force.—That if the Court were to
 “ be victorious, the nation would be alarmed,
 “ —and if the popular party were to predo-
 “ minate, those laws would become extinct,
 “ and administration would be overturned.
 “ —That to call the assembly together, in
 “ order to appropriate the disposition of that
 “ sum, which had formerly been granted to
 “ public works, would now be absurd; as
 “ the money was not in existence, at least
 “ in the Exchequer; and that, tho’ the
 “ states were to *grant* it, yet the crown could
 “ not *pay* it.—And above all, that this ex-
 “ torted convention, as it would be thought,
 “ must certainly revive amongst the repre-
 “ sentative body, that *bitter argument*, with
 “ which

“ which they had departed, but not departed
 “ in peace.—That if the accustomed offer-
 “ ings of the Cortes to the throne, should
 “ not convey *encomium on the Governor*,
 “ Sancho would be degraded.—If they did,
 “ they would impeach themselves.—But
 “ that at all events, those matters of deli-
 “ cacy were best decided by oblivion.—
 “ Moreover, that the Treasury was entirely
 “ exhausted; and therefore he knew not by
 “ what means the Governor could purchase
 “ the support he expected, excepting by pro-
 “ mises.—That if those promises were per-
 “ formed, the slender resources of government
 “ would be wasted.—If they were broken,
 “ the credit of power would be lost.—That
 “ experiment in those weighty concerns was
 “ dangerous.—The best result is *tumult*;
 “ the worst, *destruction*.—That if his re-
 “ commendatory speech from the throne of
 “ Majesty were to disclaim supplies, it
 “ would contradict the necessities of the
 “ state; if it *professed* them, the people would
 “ say, *they were never to be assembled, but to*
 “ *be plundered*; and if it were to be equivo-
 “ cal, it would offend all parties. The
 “ Crown would resent his casting a doubt
 “ on the necessity; the nation would resent
 “ his casting a fraud on their security.—That
 “ tho’ it was an hopeless project to attempt
 “ pleasing all parties, it was yet *exceedingly*
 “ unwise to satisfy none.”—Thus in sub-
 stance did the Precedenza argue with the
 thoughtless

thoughtless—and counsel the determined. —Sancho seemed to have accidentally heard *a part* of this harangue, and answered *the whole* of it with his *usual* precision.—He observed, “ that every sentence which had fallen from the lips of Antonio, was the language of wisdom—that his argument was the argument of conviction; and that he would accordingly appoint the assemblage of the Cortes, for the 26th day of the next moon.” He extolled his eloquence, and observed, “ that it brought back to his mind the remembrance of a dear departed brother;” but here he instantly wiped away a tear, that nature had rashly engendered, and inadvertency tolerated; and yielded himself to the current of his mind, which ever flowed towards untimely merriment.—He observed, “ that *General* Antonio (for so he was pleased jocularly to call him) had oftentimes differed from him in the *Court Martial*—— that he had frequently counselled against hazarding an engagement, yet, had however behaved like a good old soldier in the day of battle; though his hand did not, *at all times*, strike with the vigour of youth——yet he never failed to promote obedience and good discipline, and maintain *order and government*, by his countenance and example.”

To these arguments Don Antonio paid that reverence which is due to *wisdom*; that submission which is yielded to *power*. Several other

other Members were preparing to deliver their sentiments at large, and pay the debt, which they owed to *their own fortunes*, by recommending that purpose, which omnipotence had already decided. And certain it is, that when Sancho had once taken his unalterable determination, though counsel seemed to become less necessary, it, however, became much more pleasant to him to receive it, and advantageous to him who had the discretion to offer it. For when the Chief has once *explained* his sentiments, there can no longer remain doubt or debate amongst the Counsellors.—Then stern advice assumes the softer breath of compliment; and the discharge of duty is nothing more than the effusions of admiration and panegyric. And, indeed, though no office is in general more doubtfully received than that of giving counsel, yet the man is for ever recommended by some secret magic, who turns back on the person he advises, the reflected image of his own thoughts and affections.

Don John Alnagero, the prime advocate, being a man of ready and dexterous wit, and a copious vocabulary, arose to make them an offering of his sentiments on the occasion; and after having administered to his infirmity *a cordial*, which he retained in a dram-bottle, *for the purposes of debate, according to precedent of the first authority*; he proceeded to state the great importance of the question under consideration:—And it is generally imagined

gined he would have made a very eloquent speech, had he not been violently interrupted by a sudden outrage of vociferation, which issued even from the throne of Vice-majesty—scattering through the chambers a strange confusion of mixed sounds, but articulating, distinct, and intelligible, two words only; namely, *protest* and *prorogation*.

Alnagero, to whose ears, it is true, these sounds never conveyed music, intreated, “ that
 “ his Highness would not revive those obso-
 “ lete and invidious topicks, but leave them
 “ to the chances of time, and discussion of
 “ posterity !”—For, to bear testimony of
 justice to Alnagero, we must confess, that he
 was not amongst those to whom right and
 wrong were indifferent.—For, if it were pos-
 sible to unite public principles with great pri-
 vate emolument, it was ever his wish to bear
 them company.—He besought the Governor,
 “ to proceed on the business which at that
 “ time so eagerly engaged their wisdom—
 “ not the *death* or *disgrace*, but the *revival*
 “ of the great assembly of the people.”——
 Amongst the several difficulties which Sancho
 had encountered in his government, no one
 was, *to his feelings*, so great, as that of sup-
 pressing the extravagant laughter which the
 gravity of Alnagero’s discourse had now ex-
 cited in him.—As soon as he had discharged
 from his countenance somewhat of his un-
 timely merriment, he apologized (according
 to his fashion) to the prime advocate, for the
 F inter-

interruptions he had occasioned ; but assured
 him, “ that nothing could be farther from
 “ his wish than any renewal of debate on
 “ those ridiculous topicks ; and that if the
 “ Cortes when they assemble should say no-
 “ thing to him on the subject of them, he
 “ should, on his part, observe the same con-
 “ stitutional delicacy and silence.—That in-
 “ deed *protest* and *prorogation*, were only the
 “ names he had given to two favourite *Cata-*
 “ *lonian beagles*, which had lately been sent
 “ to him from his estates in that province.
 “ That tho’ he had always the greatest plea-
 “ sure in listening to the speeches of Al-
 “ nagero, yet as he felt an invincible desire
 “ of shewing those beagles to the Baron Go-
 “ reanelli (who was not only a *judge* but a
 “ *sportsman*, accomplished alike for the *cabinet*
 “ and the *field*,) he very ardently wished
 “ that the prime advocate should postpone
 “ the remainder of his most *excellent* speech
 “ (for excellent he was sure it would have
 “ been, had he spoken it) to another oppor-
 “ tunity ; and therefore in his canine zeal he
 “ certainly had, in a manner rather abrupt
 “ than otherwise, called upon the Scythian
 “ Cunningambo, *licentiate in medicine*, and
 “ superintendant of his dogs, his mules, and
 “ his children, to introduce the beagles into
 “ the Council Chamber, just at the time in
 “ which *he* began the very eloquent speech,
 “ in which he had the honour to interrupt
 “ him.”——

Alnagero

Alnagero at first *doubted* of the *decorum* of Sancho in this transaction; and well remembering from the record of history, that a tyrant, who *laughed at decency, and despised the people*, did once confer magistracy on his horse, he began to entertain a jealous apprehension, lest some *monstrous* promotion might be intended for those dogs of Catalonia; and therefore with great humility observed,

“ That it was a duty incidental to the high
 “ legal trust with which he was invested, to
 “ inform his Highness; that, tho’ it might
 “ in general be very proper that those who
 “ contributed to the pleasures of government
 “ should hold the highest condition in the
 “ state, yet he must offer it as his opinion,
 “ that no person of the human species, or
 “ otherwise, can be appointed of the Board
 “ of Council, without a previous order for
 “ that purpose, under the monarch’s *manual*
 “ *signature*. And that he apprehendeth the
 “ present King of Spain, notwithstanding his
 “ great condescension *in this particular*, had not
 “ yet appointed any *quadrupede* of his cabinet,
 “ within the circuit of his whole dominions;
 “ though it was well known, the Princess
 “ Dowager of Naples, his mother, was *partial*
 “ to a Caledonian goat; and the admirable
 “ Princess his consort, had *almost an affection*
 “ for a beautiful Zebra.”

Sancho, who was *playing with his cheek* during this harrague, when it was concluded, winked at the Italian nobleman, and called

again aloud for *the Beagles*; and at the same time directing the Chevalier Buticartny to issue forthwith the letters of convention, and hasten the licentiate with the *whelps of Catalonia*.

Goreanelli, not insensible to glory, was flattered.—Bumperoso laughed heartily, as he was wont on such occasions——Don Antonio did not observe the joke—Don Alnagero was distressed, and looked lively—Don Philip the Moor looked dismal, but *felt* not the least concern——and as for Don Godfredo Lilly, he was entirely employed in speculation on the *probable* disgust of Alnagero, which might open a door to his own promotion; whilst the whelps were introduced by the Doctor into the Chamber of Consultation.

When the assembly was dissolved, various were the inferences which the several members drew from the whole transaction, respecting the dogs of Catalonia.—In this, however, they entertained, *in general*, a similarity of sentiment——“That as each of them (Antonio excepted) saw that the joke of Sancho was exceedingly pleasant, so far as it concerned the *rest* of the conclave——yet, when he measured it by the relation in which it stood towards *himself*, he discovered in this *general* jocularity, some want of *especial* respect.”

And here let us not be accused by the supercilious wisdom of unalterable gravity, for having degraded the solemnity of record by the
the

the relation of occurrences light and frivolous!——But where the frivolous have *empire*, their annals will be levity.——And indeed nothing is *low*, if it be *natural*; nor is any thing unobservable to the historian, that tends to unfold or explain the *character of man*. Here the deepest political experiment was decided; though consultation was despised——though the counsel was not given——though the speeches were yet unspoken——but the Viceroy in the chambers of *gravity at least*, exhibited his Beagles to the Justiciary of the land.

Don Alexandro Cuningambo del Tweedallera, licentiate in medicine, withdrew the Beagles of Catalonia from the Chambers of Consultation; and the business of the day was ended.——Sancho having dispatched all these weighty concerns in the space of one morning, thought the evening his own—and dedicated it accordingly to festivity and pleasure.—He flew to the Fandango of Rafarmo; where the wonted jocularities of Francisco del Bumperoso defended him from the *slumber* of Loftonzo, and the bright refinement of the lovely Dorothea threw a pious shade over the unpolished confidence of her aunt, the Countess.

What the mysteries of the evening or the reflections of the morning were, is not within the province of history to relate.—But certain it is, they all departed, satisfied with their repast; and either the love, the gratitude,
or

or the artifice of Sancho, in return for so great compliances, appointed apartments, even in the Vice-royal palace, for the reception of the Countess and the lovely Monrofo, wherein to adjust and reconcile the violences of travel, whensoever Dorothea should be led forth from the fields to grace the carousals of the King of the island.—

The convention of the states being now a matter decided, Sancho was again to play off the whole artillery of seduction.—The virtuous were displaced,—the timorous were threatened,—the public-spirited were ridiculed,—the simple had promises,—the corrupt were bribed,—the credulous were betrayed,—and all were to be undone.—And indeed, the *subordinate* instruments employed in this great negotiation were so curious, as that some of them at least deserve commemoration in these records.—At that time, Fortune had shipwrecked on her native land the old lady, Donna Lavinia del St. Legero; and so extravagant were the essays of corruption in those days, that policy condescended to *retain* even this obsolete instrument of seduction. However capable in general of those powers of *procuring*, incidental to her sex and condition, yet that she should be competent to procure suffrages in the Cortes, seemed a matter, indeed, of improbable conjecture!—But the result frequently disappoints the speculation.

Donna

Donna Lavinia was indeed a very extraordinary person to have figured on the stage of politicks. She was the child of middling condition, and had received her education amidst the ferocity of Baratarian-Bœotia. She had been given in marriage by her parents to the Chevalier St. Legero, a judge; who from the intermixture of the Spaniards with the Moors, had an opportunity of enriching his nature (tho' by a spurious stream) with the blood of the great Muli Ishmael; and the sanguinary exploits of his judicature, were confirmation, of his illustrious original. Thus it happened, that the *clemency* of the husband, and the *chastity* of the wife, became the symbols of proverbial description. Donna Lavinia managed her qualifications with noble dexterity.—In her youth, without beauty, she had *lovers*—and in her age, without rank or reputation, she enjoyed the society of the *great*. A certain *warmth* and *constitutional cordiality*, was the charm of her early days—the most *indulgent accommodation* recommended her riper years; and there was one circumstance which rendered her society for ever easy, which was, “That the example of her youth, never overawed the most licentious into reserve, and the compliances of her age made her kind to the frailties of her friends.—She had not even the rigours of hypocrisy—but an heart to pity, and an house to receive, the *pinning votaries of love*. She did not possess any thing like address or courtly manners;

ners; but that there was a certain stateliness about her, that might have been the growth of antient fashion, and at some times a familiarity, that was to resemble the condescension of high rank and quality. If she was no longer the *object*, she was glad to be the *instrument*, of pleasure.—And on her bosom every friend and every foe might confidently repose the secret infirmities of unresisting nature. Not that she was possessed of any supernatural fidelity, or felt the glow of friendship in her sympathies—but she gave her own life and conversation as hostages for her secrecy. And moreover, to strengthen this security, though she had no great regard to moral obligation, she always affected the greatest respect for all manner of decorum; insomuch, that to whatever she said or did, she assumed a motive of decency. If at any time it has happened to her to have dwelt too long on the goblet, and protracted the banquet beyond convivial moderation; “ she “ was thereto compelled by medical counsel; “ merely to combat, by that severe regimen, “ some inward malady, or bodily disease ! ” —If, peradventure, she has at any time flown, with *critical precipitation*, from her most private apartments, and left them to the sole occupancy of two friends, whose only difference is their sex, at one of those dangerous moments in which love grows too powerful for discretion, and female imbecility *not unwillingly* confesses the athletic superiority

ority of man—if ever she has done so, “the
 “ was either forced away by sudden occasions
 “ and indispensable business—or she enter-
 “ tained so great a disapprobation of those
 “ tenderneſſes, which malice may call cri-
 “ minal, that she would not afford them the
 “ countenance of her preſence, but had
 “ withdrawn to leave them a ſilent re-
 “ proach.”

However, certain it is, that Donna Lavinia in Madrid, for many years, maintained a palace, not only of eaſe, but of order. Her public demeanour was ſeemly, and ſhe always attended public worſhip, to pray for the King and the Royal Family; for which act of devotion, Ferdinand the third (being a very pious Prince—reſembling his royal predeceſſor, Philip the 1ſt, in his piety—his conjugal fidelity—his principles of government—his troubles, and his cataſtrophe) gave her a penſion of five hundred crowns on the Exchequer of Barataria; which liberality ſhe repayed by the only recompence the *chaſtity* of Ferdinand afforded her—by the moſt religious reſignation to the divine will of the Sovereign.

Donna Lavinia had a brother and a nephew, who were Senators of Barataria.—The father was *age and infirmity*—the ſon was *filial obedience*. To the former then, her brother, ſhe applied with all her powers of ſeduction—ſhe had not, it is true, the *perſonal charms* of the daughter of Lot, but ſhe had the ſame powers of intoxication.

Three nights and three days did the sparkling goblet, recommended by the participation of Lavinia, visit the lips of Don Richardo, her brother; and so long did he refuse the suit of her solicitation. The fourth day came, and found Richardo still within the empire of wine! Lavinia being regent, then entered into an alliance even with the virtues of Richardo against himself. She bade him “to serve his sister, by doubling her
 “pension—she bade him serve his posterity,
 “by placing the royal standard in the hands
 “of his grandson—for these things and
 “greater, were determinable by the conduct
 “of Don Richardo and his son in the assembly of the people.”

Richardo yielded—The old Senator and his son were led into captivity—The promises were unperformed—and the excellent young man, shortly after paid the forfeit of his life, to the seductions of a parent.

To the COMMITTEE for conducting the
 FREE-PRESS.

GENTLEMEN,

THE situation of L. T——d in Ireland, is at present distinguished from all others, by circumstances of great singularity.—He stands defeated, disgraced, and despised; without public resource, or private friend-

friendship.—He has conferred on several persons, with the most capricious wantonness, favours to which they had not any title; but he always took care that such unmerited insults should accompany his benefactions, as released them from all manner of obligation and gratitude. In his negotiations for power, if he found a man of *national weight or connection*, it was his policy to alienate him.—If a *man of abilities*, it was his prudence to ridicule him.—If a *man of virtue*, it was his nature to detest him. Thus, on his first setting out in government, the bodies of men, against whom he opened his manifesto, and declared war, were the men of the *greatest power*—the men of the *greatest abilities*, and the men of the *greatest integrity* in the nation.—From amongst those of opposite qualities and condition, did he select and form his alliances—and the result has been suitable to the policy.—For at present his royal master resents his interested perfidy, in hazarding the dignity of government, for the sake of retaining a little longer the emoluments of it. And with respect to those, who have supported him—the imbecility of his government has defeated the rashness of his promises, and the extravagance of his purposes, towards them. His first determination was, to *buy as a merchandise* every vote in parliament, because he thought the *venal* would be most *implicit*, and that what he had purchased was *his own*.—Forgetting, however, that the

purchase-money was the money of the people, and that the money could not be got, till the Stewards had been corrupted.—This naturally forced him on the expedient of *promises*; which not having been try'd, had not yet been discredited.—Thus he opened his Court of Requests, and issued his *promissary notes* without number; declaring however, that if they were not paid *to a day* they should bear interest or advance.—For instance, J——n S———s, Esq; received a promissary note to him, or his order, for a seat at the Barrack Board: but on the day of payment, to prevent the note's being protested, it was countersigned and mark'd in currency for the *Revenue Board*.—And like a prodigal spend-thrift, not being able to discharge the several other demands on him, at the time of promised payment, he was obliged to satisfy his creditors, by issuing new securities of so advanced an amount, as must reduce him to bankruptcy in the end, and leave him the only resources of sudden flight, or an act of insolvency. For in the present perplexity of his affairs, so low is his credit, that he cannot raise a single vote upon it to save his empire. —“ Depart then thou rash and impotent
 “ Minister—thou hast *united* thine enemies,
 “ and thy friends are not to be found—and
 “ when thou art no more amongst us, thou
 “ shalt be remembered only in our resent-
 “ ments.—The humanity of the nation shall
 “ scarcely protect thine ashes from the winds,
 “ and

“ and the favours thou hast conferred shall
 “ not inscribe thy monument.”

FABRICUS.

An Inscription on a Pillar which is speedily to
 be erected at the Town of Bullock.

This column was erected at the private expence

Of good men,

To stand a monument of Irish story, and

A memorial to posterity

Of our happy deliverance from the scourge

Of insolence and oppression,

By the unexpected, but not unwith'd for, de-
 parture

Of George L—d Vis—t T——d;

Who resided in this land, as Chief G——r,

For the space of four years: but at length

Departed on the 26th day of December, in the
 year 1771.

Having on that day, being St. Stephens's day,

The 15th day after his obtaining a victory,

(Which the *wise* call'd a defeat,)

And the 2d day after He pass'd the Money-
 Bills,

(Which *He* thought an Exploit)

Embark'd, *without ostentation,*

At this little port of Bullock.

He came to Ireland, professing and practising

Every mystery of corruption—

Waging war against

Power,

Power, abilities, and Integrity;
 And accordingly his administration was
Absurdity, Impotence, and Profligacy;
 During his residence, the *powers* of his office
 Frequently compell'd him to confer favours,
 But a capricious nature and barbarous manners,
 Defended him from the returns of
 Friendship and gratitude:
 He therefore never made
 A friend.

So that in a country, in which any misfortune
 calls forth the affections of the people—
 Where they drop tears at the execution of
 Every malefactor,

He however was
 unassisted in his difficulties,
 unpitied in his disgrace,
 and unlamented in his departure.
 He utter'd falsehood from the throne
 In the name of the K——g.
 From his closet did he promise
 The things which were never perform'd.—

His conduct in government was
 a disgrace to him whom he represented,
 a reproach to those who appointed him,
 and a scourge to those whom he govern'd.—

He was a mimick,
 a scribbler,
 a decypherer of features,
 a delineator of corporeal infirmity;

But he was not
 a statesman,
 a governor,

a soldier

a soldier,

a friend,

or a gentleman.

He was victorious only when he involved

His cause with the cause of

private persons—

and the ordinary effects of

Sympathy and affection,

(usually so strong in this country)

Became weak or doubtful,

as they were damp'd by the influence

of his co-operation :

His wisdom was fraud ;

His policy, corruption ;

His fortitude, contempt of character ;

His friendship, distrust ;

His enmity, revenge ;

And his exploit, the ruin of a country.

*Extract of a Letter from Lord N——b,
to His Excellency the L——d Lieu——t of
Ireland.*

MY LORD,

IT is with great concern I have been obliged
to lay before his M——y, the state of
your Ex——y's administration in the king-
dom of Ireland ; which now appears to be
entirely different, as to strength and credit,
from that which you gave his M——y
reason

reason to expect from the course of intelligence you have been pleased to transmit to the Ministry from time to time.

Your Ex——y, on the conclusion of the last short session of Parliament, left government supported by a majority in the House of Commons, exceeding the number of forty—— and we had no reason to doubt, that this majority would have decreased under any administration, possessed either of capacity to reconcile the discontented, or even of temper and decorum sufficient to defend itself from the new disgusts, which seem at present to have alienated the most zealous of its supporters. This might naturally have been expected, without exerting the extreme resources of government. But his M——y cannot avoid observing the unusual number of offices, which casualty has thrown into your Ex——y's disposal.——Moreover, that his R——l indulgence has complied with your requisitions for new appointments, in number great beyond example——in expence alarming, and in utility doubtful at best.——That all the concessions made to your predecessors, for twenty years together, have not equalled in amount those, which have been yielded to your Ex——y in six months.——That you have been gratified with full powers, not only to reward your friends, but punish your enemies, by depriving them of the offices they enjoyed for many years under the crown;——and with all those powers you amused

amused his M——y with an account, that you had established yourself in power invincible; that the aristocracy was broken, opposition at an end, and that you were ready to meet the Parliament with perfect security to his M——y's honour and government. The result, however, has been total disappointment! and his M——y cannot but observe, with astonishment, the wonderful misapplication of so great powers, which has conferred nothing but weakness and disgrace on your administration——for your majority in the House of Commons, on the first day of this session, merely in favour of a common matter of form, was diminished, as I have been informed, to about twenty-six. That on points which heretofore used to be decided almost by unanimity, you have indeed been victorious, but only by a majority of nine or five.——In other matters, you have yielded, compromised, or capitulated; but that in every great and capital question, you have been beaten by a great superiority. But above all, I cannot avoid expressing to your Ex——y his M——y's resentment, at your having so far deceived him, as in the first place to recommend it to him to sign his letters *positive*, directing new Boards of immense expence to be instituted, which you know, or ought to have known, could not have been carried into execution, without first obtaining a law, which lies in the power of parliament; and which law, it seems, is contrary to the sense

of Parliament, and therefore beyond your power to obtain. Thus the R—l name has been brought into disgrace, by the counsel which induced his M——y to direct, that a thing should *positively* be done, which could not *properly* be done, without a new law; the obtaining of which law was always doubtful, and now appears impracticable.—In forming this scheme, you did not consult the King's servants, the officers of the revenue, or the finances of the country; but rashly induced the authority of the K——g's name to a measure that the nation disliked, the revenues were unequal to, and the laws, *as they now stand*, could not admit.—Though your Ex——y were ever so much enamoured with the *station*, or gratified by the emolument of high office, you should not, however, have continued to hold it under the manifest hazard of the K——g's honour, and the dignity of government.—But I must observe the little grounds you had to expect that easy and honourable session of Parliament, with the hopes of which you flattered the Ministry. By some peculiarity of management in your dealing with the friends of government, you have, I know not how, rendered them cold and unwilling supporters in Parliament; whilst you have made your opponents zealous, active, and united against you. Not one of the K——g's servants, not even your own Secretary, can be brought to *acknowledge* you or your measures in Parliament;

ment;—and scarcely ever speak but in order to vindicate themselves from any participation in your counsels or confidence. And trust me, my Lord, if you don't, in some degree, conciliate the affections of those who serve government, you will derive but a very imperfect support from a cold, reluctant, or silent suffrage. After squandering away the immense bounties, with which you have been furnished, on persons incapable of serving you, you stand at present with the boast of a poor, tottering majority;—doubtful, discontented and unfriendly,—and when you depart, will leave a body of opposition behind you, that the kingdom you govern never saw equalled, and which, perhaps, no future wisdom may be able to reconcile; and above all, you have recorded a public memorial of your misrepresentations to his M——y, in the address of the Commons, condemning the new Boards you thought proper to recommend to his M—y's adoption.

* * The followeing was yesterday publicly delivered to Dr. CLEMENT at the Hustings, by CHRISTOPHER NICHOLSON, Esq; as his reasons for voting for him, with a declaration of his consent to the same being made public. We think ourselves happy in being able to communicate any thing to the public, which tends to serve the cause of liberty; and present this to our readers, as being in some measure the political creed of a gentleman, who has ever professed and acted up to the most disinterested, patriotic principles.

THE poll paper of the city of Dublin, dated Nov. 23d, 1771, is a good admonition to all Electors, “to appear in favour of the *real independent interest of this trading city—and to support the friends to trade and independency.*”

Every Elector is, in his respective district, intrusted to choose for the body of the people who have no votes.

If he votes through favour, affection, or any sinister motive, he betrays the people, and deserves, and must expect to be betrayed by the man he unfaithfully chooses.

A gentleman of unquestionable probity, who was *cotemporary* member in the last Parliament with Dr. Clement, assures me, that when Dr. Clement sat there, his attendance was constant, and his vote was constantly
given

given uprightly ; and all gentlemen, whom I have heard speak of Dr. Clement, agree in this account of his parliamentary conduct.

Such are the men likely to preserve the independency, trade, and prosperity of the city of Dublin, and the whole kingdom.

I never saw either of the present candidates until this day. I had no application made to me by either of them, or by any other person on behalf of either of them ; and if I had been applied to, the stronger the application, the more I should have suspected unsoundness of heart in the party applying.

I have travelled a very incommodious journey, merely to do my duty to the public, in voting according to the best of my judgement. The only motive which ought to guide a voter, and will very seldom mislead a sincere one.

I have attended many elections in counties, cities, and boroughs, for forty or fifty years past ; and never saw one election, where I think the comparative merit of the candidates so manifestly clear as the election held this day. Some electors may be unduly influenced, but a majority can scarce err in so plain a question.

Constituents must answer to themselves and their country ; and beware that they shall justly answer for their own uprightness, in choosing the most likely men they can find to maintain the independency, trade, liberties, peace, and purse of the nation.

If

If we choose trustees, willing to assent to what they are bid, we loose our real security; and they destroy the weight, strength, and credit of the Commons.

Great as the list of pensions were, we hear, that they are encreased; many of them so improper, that none but the procureate can approve them: others, granted contrary to the assurance given by a Viceroy, in the name of his Royal Master.

We are told, that hundreds of thousands are to be demanded—if they can be conjured into the Treasury—now—at a time of public tranquillity—although it may be found impracticable afterwards to raise a fund sufficient to defend the nation, if another French armament should be embarked to invade it.

Supplies have been usually considered as voluntary grants from the people, by their representatives, for which the Crown thanked the people.—Language different from mandatory letters.—If the Crown can, at will, grant valid pensions, chargeable on the people, before the people, by their representatives, make a grant for that purpose to the Crown, what security can they be said to have in their property, what means of testifying their generous cordiality to the monarch, what great use of fundamental right to choose representatives, if the money of the subject be granted away before his representative

tative is consulted? Of what significance will be the representatives themselves?

If even their subsequent consent be thought adviseable, they may then consider how far they can justify, to go beyond the abilities, and contrary to the general sense of their constituents, from whom they derive all their authority to consent—and that only so far as it is evidently consistent with the rights, the safety, and the good of their principals. —If their consent be not manifestly right, it must be manifestly wrong.

The Member we choose is bound in duty to examine the list of pensions.—I address myself to every Member of every county, city, and borough wherein I have a vote, *viz.* Meath, Louth, Dublin, Drogheda, Navan, and Kilbeggan,—let his Majesty's own revenues of this nation display his royal bounty to the meritorious who have served this nation,—if happily they out-number his abilities to reward them properly, tax me my proportion fully to reward them. But let me not be crushed by a single authority, as in the way of an arret, which will not bear any negative; and refuse taxing me to pamper men, who have neither any public merit nor connexion with this country, nor any claim of public merit, though they be of this country—and endeavour to do me and your other constituents justice, by the proper parliamentary methods to undeceive his Majesty, and shew him wherein he has been abused by
evil

evil advisers, prodigal of that little treasure, which this nation is able to raise on emergencies to support the King and the people,—He may also be deemed a treacherous Member, who consents to raise unnecessary supplies, or veils the public accounts, or fails to enquire into misapplication or embezzlement of money granted. Liberty cannot long out live property.

I have endeavoured concisely to reason with my representatives, in hopes of their concurring with me in their judgments on these momentous points, whereby the public may have the better chance to be relieved from present, and protected from future oppressions.—Also, because I ardently wish to see, in all branches of government, a restoration of that mutual good-will and confidence, which seem absolutely necessary to the good of the whole.—For which purpose, I exhort my fellow electors to be cautious in their choice, as a virtuous Member may be a means of healing, whereas, an over compliant one, may, by such a conduct, embolden adventurers to widen the unhappy breach, and thus encrease, instead of removing jealousies.

I hope to be pardoned when I speak in behalf of my property now seemingly in question,—but the critical state of the public demands the free and explicit sentiments of constituents.—I have therefore delivered mine, touching the present pending election for the city of Dublin; and touching the faithful discharge

charge of that important trust, which, I humbly apprehend, is due by my several representatives to their country, and to me.

CHRISTOPHER NICHOLSON.

Dublin, Nov. 29, 1771.

To L———D T———D.

MY LORD,

THOUGH your Excellency's known temper and magnanimity in *battle*, may defend you from any imputations of insolence in *victory*; yet your Lordship will, I flatter myself, excuse the liberty I now take, when you recollect that it was a custom with the antient rulers of the world to guard the transport of the noblest natures, by joining to the triumph of the *victorious*, a Monitor to remind him *That he was but a man*. Your Excellency, whose character is formed on the best modest models of antiquity, for inflexible virtue——For justice, sobriety, moderation, fortitude, veneration for the laws, and love for the people, will not hear with indignation this humble admonition, which is merely intended to regulate your feelings under the contemplation of *recent success*.

Your Lordship has triumphed over the enemies of a *new Board of Accounts*.——I give you joy! and beg leave to congratulate
I
your

your Lordship on that peculiar good fortune, which has more than once in your life united your name with conquest. For it seems this was not the first instance of your assuming the honour of a victory which was not of your acquiring. In one instance, the abilities of a superior, *whom you could not controul*; in another, the private friendships of private men, which *the most inauspicious co-operation* could not defeat, succeeded alike not only to defend, but to adorn L——d T——d.

If you will but condescend, my Lord, in the exultation of your triumph, to consider how you obtained it, and how you stand fortified in your encampment after it, I trust I need not admonish your Excellency to humility!

You marched into the field at the head of a multitude of mercenaries, with the alliance of *the King's name*, and under the consecrated banners of *the sign-manual*. In short, you exerted every power of your situation, and you obtained a majority of five only in the House of Commons, in favour of a scheme for bestowing 500l. per ann. on five of their own members. It is not enough to say, that those five members voted especially *for themselves*, and *exactly* decided the day; but I must observe, that the whole powers of government, under your Excellency's auspices, would never have brought the question within the reach of those five votes, were it not
for

for the force of their private solicitations and friendships.

Nothing then can be so clear as that the weight of national power lay against you: and private affection, in this instance, broke through the bonds of public obligation. For it must ever be recited amongst the amiable infirmities of my countrymen, that all their stern virtues weaken and dissolve, when opposed to the sympathies of social intercourse and amicable communication. The man who was severe enough to detest your administration, was yet soft enough to remember his antient friendships.

Thus the recollection of *congenial sports and prodigality*——The sympathy of *youthful connexion*——The society of *military service*——The influence of *family adherence*——and the obstinate importunity of domestic craft, played against the *partialities of parental tenderness*, were all listed in your service, and became your allies without a subsidy.

Your Excellency must then be too well acquainted with those particulars to suppose yourself any more than an *accessary* to this victory.

It was your fortune to meet the parliament of a country, that entertained an extraordinary reverence for your master; and therefore you were protected, so long as compliment was the object of government——But when you came to *measures*, the opposition, which spoke the voice of the nation, was too

strong for you.—What they gave, they gave from generosity.—What they withheld, they withheld with superiority of strength. They opposed *you*, but they supported *your Royal Master*; they overturned *your empire*, but they maintained *his government*. And indeed, in every thing they did, they conducted themselves with extraordinary delicacy.—For, whilst they manifested by their strength a superiority over the Viceroy, by their liberality to the King did they exhibit unexampled instances of loyalty and attachment.

Reflect, my Lord, on the transactions of the Commons!—They granted his Majesty the ordinary supplies—They moreover voted an enormous loan sufficient to satisfy even royal prodigality.—They agreed to that mass of expence *the augmentation of the army*, still further augmented in expence, though diminished in numbers, since the original proposition of it.—They enabled his Majesty *legally* to alienate a part of the public revenues, which his Majesty had before been advised (and advised with effect) to alienate, *contrary to law*. These were the measures of *his Majesty's* government; and in those instances the Commons forgot your Excellency, and remembered only their amiable weakness of loyal partiality.

Let me now examine your Excellency's *own* measures, and the points of opposition to you, that we may be able to judge of the strength

strength of the fortress, within which you are intrenched.—

The first insult on your person and government (which was most strenuously opposed by your friends) was a declaration of the Commons, “ That the abilities and essential “ interest of the country should be the measure of the supply.”——The next was a resolution of the Commons in favour of “ *Oeconomy, and all possible retrenchment.*” This was justly supposed to imply a reflection on your Excellency’s administration, and therefore was zealously, but ineffectually, opposed by your friends in parliament.—The next parliamentary overthrow, of which I shall remind your Excellency, was, *in the condemnation of the Excise-board*, after you had rashly advised your Sovereign to order *positively*, that a measure should be pursued, which was impracticable without a new law; and which new law, it is evident, you were not strong enough to obtain.

The next of your Excellency’s humiliations was *Mr. Dyson’s case*; in which the Commons declared, “ They would not provide for a pension, which had been granted “ under your Excellency’s administration, “ *in violation of the royal promise.*” You were, indeed, beaten *but by one* in the Committee; but you had the question revived in the House, contrary to the law of Parliament, and there you cleared the doubts which might
rest

rest on your situation, by exposing yourself to a more decisive defeat.

The next article of your disgrace, was taken from the public accounts. In them, it seems, a charge had been handed down of about 9000*l.* for *militia arms, and fortifying the harbour of Cork*. As this was an obsolete charge from the year 1746, the opponents to your government thought *it should be struck off*; but your friends were up in arms at the proposition. They were unwilling that any thing should return from the gulph of the Exchequer! They urged that your Excellency had, *in your own mind*, already appropriated this sum to the erecting batteries in the harbour of Cork, upon plans formed and digested *in your military progress through Ireland*.

That day, the malice of fortune gave you the victory but to betray you to double disgrace; for, on the succeeding day, the statute-book was examined—the transaction was exposed—Recantation, humility, and disgrace, covered your party—your plans of fortification, and *sketches* of military design, were become the objects of ridicule, and blushes were seen to glow on cheeks which never blushed before.

As to the recent victory, which at present encircles your brows with laurel, I have already troubled your Excellency with some observation upon it—you engaged five gentlemen

men to vote for themselves, and solicit the assistances of friendship; the powers of which are not yet so weak in this country, as that your Excellency's co-operation was able to defeat them.

Moderate your triumph then, illustrious commander!—You have been defeated in three out of four of your capital engagements—Your single trophy was not the fruit of your own strength or conduct. The power of private friendship—The interest of individuals—And the astonishing desertion of two men, who ought to be found amongst your sternest enemies, atchieved *this first and last* of your victories.

F A B R I C I U S.

To the WRITERS of the last BACHELOR.

A Citizen of the world, I am a friend to mankind. A citizen of Geneva, I am a friend to a weak nation, exposed to the encroachments of a superior kingdom. I knew the English in their history; and I admired them. I sought refuge amongst the sons of freedom, as I thought them: But, alas, I found that however they might have been entitled to that godlike distinction, they had lost it by degeneracy. The misrepresentations of Hume contributed to the captivating error. But I soon found that he had
been

been himself a missionary of corruption, and that he applauded the political ethics of a nation which he had inspired. “ Deluded, or deluding man, and infatuated people, said I to myself, farewell. The heart of Rousseau, an alien to fraud; and the tongue, an advocate for truth, cannot dissemble. I cannot live where I could not brook to die. Some land of liberty shall shield my bones; nor shall my ashes mingle but with the dust of freemen.”

My fruitless, but unwearied search hath almost exhausted Europe; and I now stand in this, I hope, not devoted island, hesitating upon the margin of the deep; but prepared, if I shall be here disappointed, to traverse (in the resolution, not the despair of age) the extent of the Atlantick.

A *Denizen* of your country, I owe returns of service for the bounty of protection; and, universally naturalized to liberty by the congenial breathings of my soul, the wound which I received from seeing in your last publication, my public words, and my unhappy name, perverted to the injury of this country and of freedom, has so far touched a heart not insensible, as to drag me from my intended obscurity, and to make me in some sort an actor on a stage, where I wished to be only a spectator. You have made me an advocate for uncertainty in the rights of the subject, though they are only rights as far

far as they are defined. You have made me a patron of ambiguity in things the most essential to the welfare of humanity, though I have aimed at precision in matters less important. But know, audacious or ignorant writers, that the delicacy and intercourse of sentiment between the people and their governors, which I recommend, have another object. Know also, that men flew from the simplicity of a state of nature, for no other reason, but that all great, private and public rights might be invariably ascertained; and that [the civil government which doth not fix and specify them, is the most fatal conspiracy against the happiness of man.

You say that this country is no longer free than whilst it enjoys the inestimable privilege of being taxed by its own Representatives *only* (and according to the established forms of the constitution, you ought to have added). You say, on the other hand, that England will not suffer her manufactures to be taxed, nor her commerce to be restrained, by an Irish House of Commons. The latter proposition, thus universally predicated, is absurd and false. But suppose it to be true, what follows? Not that it is necessary, that the Crown should have a power to *alter* your money-bills. The Crown, by the established forms of the constitution, hath a *negative*, by which it can prevent any law from passing; and that negative is a sufficient security for English commerce and manufacture. The

commerce and manufacture of England is thus secure, not only in the original forms of the constitution, but in the superiority of Great Britain also. But what support or existence has this inestimable privilege of the Commons, if a rival and destructive power be established in the Crown of Great Britain? Or is it the language of Irishmen, that the less essential rights of another nation, which already have all human security, should be further fortified at the expence of the most essential rights of their own country? This cannot be. What follows? That this great privilege of the Commons should be preserved according to the established law of the constitution, inviolate. What then is that privilege? Not, that the Commons should have *barely* a *negative* to a money-bill, like the King; but that they, *alone*, should *propound* and *model* bills of supply; and that a power of *dissenting, only*: should remain with the nobles and with the crown. Whereas, if you give to the Sovereign a power to *alter*, you give him a power to *propound* and *model*; and leave to the Commons, as a security over their *own grants*, a *negative only*: that is, you reverse every principle of the constitution, and confound every maxim of common sense and equity.

Hereafter, perhaps, I may enter more largely upon this subject, for I feel myself kindling in the cause. Now let me speak to the *authors* of that publication; for it seems
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it is a divided labour. Both of you, we are told, are military men. There is a frankness and a liberality, at least, in that profession, to which clandestine calumny is not adapted. Far from violating in peace, what you are paid to protect in war; you ought to remember, not only the monarch, in whose name you are enrolled; but the people, by whose bounty you are fed. Or, if the splendid vassals of the sword, are too often content to be thought enemies to freedom, be not you more than professionally her foes; let her not meet you in the *closet* as well as in the *field*; and at least, let her be free from the *pen* of stipendiary centurions. The studies and the exercises of war, the dance, the theatre, are open: Let the last of your frolicks be, to sport with the rights of your country, or with the fame of her defenders. I speak to you for a moment, as if you were not purchased to the task; for if you be, you are the last of wretches.

If any difference is to be made between these political *Sofias*; if there be one of them more allied to *Hermes*, let him remember, that though he may be employed, like his predecessor, to compass for another, the end of prostitution; yet, that the seducer, in this case, is not a *Jove*, and that he himself is one of the offspring of *Alcmena*. Let him not wound private and public faith, nor immolate friendship at the shrine of a man, whose absurdity and caprice, whose meanness and in-

solence, whose ingratitude and baseness, are amongst his favourite themes: And if he hath a ray of that genius, which by an intemperate sensibility hurries the mind, sometimes even to the precipice of distraction; let him not excruciate the unfortunate and aged Rousseau, by a distortion of his sentiments, which will make him appear an enemy of that country, in which he hopes for an asylum; and of that truth and liberty, to the promotion of which, his life and labours have been devoted.

JEAN JAKES ROUSSEAU.

TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD,

PERMIT me once more to address myself to your Excellency,—not in the language of accusation and reproach, but in the softer accents of pity and condolence. For indeed, I cannot but lament with your Excellency, that your administration should have been so signally distinguished from all others, by furnishing so many unusual instances of *violence against the liberty of this country*. 'Tis true, my Lord, some of them were suggested by persons superior in authority to your Excellency; but in the end, you condescended to make them your own by your countenance and adoption; and therefore,
some

some imagine, that the ample experience, with which you had furnished the English Ministry, of your *indiscriminate acquiescence*, of your *temperate interpretation of personal insults*, and *resignation under disgrace*, could alone have induced them to mark your Lordship's administration, by an experiment of the grossest indignity to the government and constitution of this country ;——an essay against the last stake of Irish liberty. When the Ministry returned to this country *an altered money-bill*, one would have imagined their great object was *the subversion of your administration*. They could not surely have thought so meanly of you, as to suppose you *incapable* of distinguishing, or *indifferent* in deciding between that which is base, and that which is noble !——Nor could they, I trust, think you so enamoured of high station, as that you would retain it, under the disgrace of tyrannical mandates on one side, and the dissatisfaction of a nation on the other. But whatever may have been their motives, it had been happy for your Excellency, if you had discerned with a little sagacity, and acted with a little resolution, on this great national question.——If you had involved even your private resentments with the public cause, and proved your own innocence, not only by *disclaiming*, but *resisting* this injury.——But your Excellency was otherwise advised.——Your Secretary saw *no evil in the alterations*.——Your Solicitor-general, and
 Counsellor

Counsellor to the Commissioners, thought them *benefaction* and *grace*.

Others of your *friends* (as you may think them) equally insensible of this enormity, but preferring the most doubtful reputation to decided infamy, adopted the old experiment of *procrastination*—what they were too weak to *defend*, they hoped they were strong before they would hazard a decisive engagement, enough to *delay*; and like prudent Generals, they chose to take a review of their forces, by a division on a motion, “ to adjourn the debate for two days.” The propriety of this proposition they *gravely* argued, though they knew in their consciences, that no delay could administer information; that no enquiry could suggest knowledge on this subject.—For indeed, the deliberation of ages could not diminish the evil.—The *official artifice* of the most *perverted ingenuity* could not *unalter* the money-bill, which lay before them. The case was simple—accommodated to the decision of a moment. The question was only, whether the Commons should pass *an altered money-bill*, or not?—They were as well able to judge on Saturday, as they could be on Monday, or on any other day of their lives, whether it was *expedient to surrender the last stake of their liberty, or not!*—Trust me, my Lord, the vigilance of the world readily discovers that delusion, which would hide under the mask of moderation so great a perfidy!—They well knew, that delay could not alter the merits of the cause; but they
had

had some *private* reasons to suspect, that it might alter the disposition of the *Judges*, before whom it was to be tried. But *they* were disappointed!—and everlasting honour will crown *their opponents*, who in the day of tryal took a great and decided part, and gained for their country this signal victory. A victory not of party over party, or faction, against power!—It was the resistance of of magnanimity to oppression.—It was the triumph of public virtue over private interest.—

At this particular season, security had sent the great body of the opposition into the country, and your Excellency was left omnipotent in Parliament for every purpose, save only that which tended to the absolute ruin of the country. This gives invincible authority to your defeat; and must, at the same time, render you some consolation, as it conveys a proof that *no administration* could have succeeded in this abominable business, until it had first totally debased, degraded, and corrupted the representative body of the nation. And that is a work which, it appears, your Excellency's industry in four years has not been able to accomplish.

And now, my Lord, seeing that your education in camps has left you in need of information upon subjects of liberty.—That you are surrounded by men on *one* side destitute of capacity to *inform*, on the other of integrity to *inform faithfully*, I shall beg leave to state
to

to your Excellency (that you may not be totally ignorant of the most striking feature of your administration) the great question of this *altered money-bill*. And then, I shall ask you, if you think your friends were *honest*, them who told you that it was a matter fitted for *delay, moderation*, or management to loiter over!

It is laid down, as the law of the land, by Judge Blackstone (no very great favourer of the democratical part of our constitution, whom even *Counsellor Power* has accused of wanting zeal for liberty) “ That it is the ancient indisputable *privilege* and *right* of the House of Commons, That all grants of subsidies or parliamentary aids do begin in their House, and are first bestowed by them.” And this great lawyer (with deference to the *Revenue-counsellor* do I call him so) further observes, “ that so *reasonably* jealous are the Commons of this valuable privilege, that herein they will not suffer the other House to exert any power, but that of *rejecting*. They will not permit the least *alteration* or *amendment* to be made by the Lords to the mode of taxing the people by a money-bill.” And he adds, “ That it would be extremely dangerous to give them any power of framing taxes for the subject. It is sufficient that they have a power of *rejecting*, if they think the Commons too lavish or improvident in their grants.”

Now,

Now, if the *Lords*, who vote for themselves and their own concerns, who pay their proportion of all taxes which are imposed on the nation, are not permitted, in any sort, to meddle with this right of the Commons, how monstrous would it be to suppose, that the *Crown* could exercise any such power, whose province it is, only to *accept*, not *contribute* to these national bounties?

This is the common law of the land; and the constant principle and practice of parliament.—And so tenacious of this valuable right have the Commons of Ireland ever been, that in the year 1753, upon a moderate provocation, in comparison with the present, they amply testified their sentiments on this great question.

There happened at that time to be a redundancy in the Treasury.—The House of Commons passed heads of a bill applying this redundancy to the payment of the national debt. The English Ministry were of opinion, that, as this money had been by former acts of Parliament vested in the Crown, under a general trust, it would be a breach of delicacy at least, to apply it to any particular purpose, without specifying *his Majesty's previous consent thereto*; and therefore when the bill returned, the words, "*with his Majesty's previous consent*," appeared to have been inserted in *the preamble*. The moment it was discovered, the House of Commons was in a flame—and tho' this was

not a bill laying a single tax on the people—tho' it might be considered rather as a bill of *disposition* than *taxation*—yet as it *appertained unto money*, it was thought *too much a money-bill* to admit of any the least alteration; and *therefore* it was rejected.

And now, my Lord, let us examine the alterations which defeated the money-bill of this session.—We transmitted into Great Britain, a money-bill of such extensive liberality, as gave us reason to expect *Royal acknowledgement*, not *ministerial insult* in return. But we were disappointed!—The Committee of Comparison between our copy and the transmiss, reported to the House *three positive and substantial alterations in the very matter of the supply*. It appeared that the antient duty which we had imposed on *cottons*, both from motives of commerce and subsidy, was *struck out of the bill*.—Your Lordship has been told, “this was a clerical error!—It “was inserted inserted in the other copy!”—It is unnecessary to expose the suspicious circumstances which attended this particular—they were many—however, I shall admit the defence *so far*. But what my Lord, do you say to the *express words inserted*, which *positively* exempt *British herrings* from a tax imposed by the Commons? Is this a solid alteration of our money-bill or not? Is the insertion of a number of words, of *so marked an import*, a literal inaccuracy, or a clerical error? Impossible!

And

And now, my Lord, let us examine the next alteration!—The House of Commons imposed a duty on certain foreign diapers of a particular denomination. This tax *the legislative authority* of the *English Ministry* thought proper utterly to defeat, by a positive clause which was inserted, exempting from the duty, *all such as should be imported from Great Britain*—which was, in effect, *all that should be imported*. Which of the servants of the Crown informed your Excellency, that this was accident or error? Whoever he was, I envy him not his station or emoluments—he has dearly purchased them!—Trust not men who shew themselves ready to go *all lengths* with you!—They are not men of principle—therefore you can't rely on them.

What then did those gentlemen mean, who boasted of having discovered a *correct copy* of this bill? They *pleaded* somewhat like the prisoner, who being arraigned for three murders, demanded a general acquittal for having proved, that one of them was manslaughter without malice prepense.—They thought to disarm the noblest spirit of national resentment that ever exalted a patriot assembly, by endeavouring to prove, that this bill only contained one *accidental* and two *intentional* violations of the constitution.—And therefore, out of tenderness to one unlucky *accident*, we were to pardon two *malignant* transgressions. No, my Lord, if our essential rights are to be destroyed, what matters whether they fall by *one*, or *two*, or *three* wounds?

—The admission of *an altered money-bill, in any possible instance*, is a crime, for the perpetration of which the Commons of Ireland are not yet sufficiently debased.—They know that their very existence depends on preserving purity in this particular.—If any power had a right *to alter, in any degree*, what authority could draw a line of limitation? And the absurdity is *obvious*, as well as *criminal*, which amuses us by distinctions, between alterations *tending to encrease*, and those which *affect to diminish* the supply. The representative of the people form a great scale of taxation, so proportioned, as that the several imposts may sustain each other.—They know, that in many instances, to diminish the rate, is to encrease the revenue, as in the cases of tea and tobacco; and that on the other hand, in order to support internal taxation, they must lay commercial impositions on the articles of importation. In short, the whole scheme of supply must be *one work*—and it must be *the work of the Commons entire*.

Suffer not yourself therefore, my Lord, to be persuaded, that any circumstance in the *tendency* can be a mitigation in the *matter* of altering a money-bill. For if the idea be once *admitted*, it will be soon *established*.—If the Crown can once become possessed of a *right of alteration*, that will imperceptibly become a *right of proposition*.—Then indeed would the whole order of the legislature be overturned—the representative of the people
would

would be reduced to a *single negative* over their own liberalities ; and the constitutional liberty of this country would be at an end. We might then reflect, with an idle veneration, upon the wisdom of our ancestors, who had guarded the House of Commons against the possibility of admitting a new tax by surprize.—For the law of Parliament requires that it should be proposed and discussed *five different times*, before they can adopt or transmit it to Great Britain.—That, I say, would be a fruitless precaution, if a silent insertion of *new* matter into the money-bill, or an alteration of the *old*, were in any possible instance to be a measure admissible.

Trust me, my Lord, the Crown is not possessed of power enough in this country, to enforce so ruinous a tenet ;——and if ever it shall become *so powerful*, it's power will be *absolute*.

After this review of the laws and constitution, I believe no man will be found, who does not admire the whole conduct of the House of Commons on the late memorable transaction.—It was all wisdom, spirit, and moderation !

The Committee of Comparison reported, *That the money-bill had been altered*.——The Commons therefore *rejected the bill*. On the same day they prepared and passed heads of a bill, *under a different title*, but as nearly as possible of the same import with that which they had rejected ;—and this they did, that
they

they might furnish the world with a decisive testimony, that they had rejected a money-bill, not on account of any particular objections to the *import* of the alterations it had suffered, but merely because it was *an altered money-bill*. The English ministry, being sufficiently informed of the invincible resolution of the Irish House of Commons, thought proper to return the new bill to them *without any further experiment*.—The Committee of Comparison reported, “*That the bill was unaltered*,” and it passed the House with unusual celerity.

Thus the House of Commons have formed a perfect and conclusive authority, on this greatest of national questions, and vindicated themselves from any doubts which *the days of prerogative* may have suggested against them.—They have covered themselves with honour, and shall leave behind them an example, which will be, at once, the *admiration* and the *controul* of their posterity. They have wiped away the impressions of a vulgar timidity, which has ever united the ideas of destruction with *the rejection of a money-bill*.—They have taught administration, “that
 “the emoluments of the Crown cannot purchase every thing; and though government may sometimes be gratified in *unreasonable requests*, it will not be complied
 “with in unlawful commands.”

The majority, who decided this great question, have done that which shall be remembered

bered to them, by their country, when they shall apply for re-election.—They have done that, which they themselves shall reflect on with satisfaction, in the last moment of their lives.

FABRICIUS.

To the COMMITTEE for conducting the
FREE-PRESS.

GENTLEMEN,

ABOUT two years ago, I sent you a manuscript containing the heads of chapters, belonging to some memoirs relative to the family of the Bulls, at the same time promising that, if I happened to meet with any more of that work, I would transmit it to you; since that time the enclosed letter has fallen into my hands, written, as it seems, by Patrick to his cousin John; but upon what particular occasion I have not been able to discover. If you think it can afford any entertainment to your readers, you are at liberty to print it.

“ My dear COUSIN,

“ For such you are, and so I must call you, how cruelly soever you have treated me; tell me, I beseech you, are my sufferings never to be at an end, and how much longer

longer am I to indure the hardest usage, from the person in the world, who is bound by every tye of blood, honour, and even of interest, to support and protect me; tho' poor I be, and far your inferior in wealth and splendor, still I am the nearest branch of your family, lineally descended from one common stock? Those honest ancestors, upon whom you so greatly, and indeed so justly pride yourself, were my ancestors also; and shall every dirty fellow, whom you chuse to raise to a place in your confidence, be able to prevail on you thus shamefully to treat your nearest relation; and how, my dearest cousin, how have I deserved this horrid treatment? Have I not ever been your obsequious friend? Have you not always found me ready and willing to oblige and to serve you, even at the expence of mine and my childrens bread? But why should I mention my former services? Did I not, but a few months since, upon your requisition, and moved by your complaint, that your debts were so burthensome, as to disable you from keeping up a retinue suitable to your dignity and to your service, Did I not, I say, consent, contrary to my own opinion, and to that of all my friends, to encrease the number of my domestics, already far too burthensome, and which were, in fact, much more employed in your business than my own, merely that I might pay a number of servants for your sole use and emolument? And what is now my reward? How am I repaid for
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my chearful compliance with all your desires, with all your whims ! You well know how miserably unhappy I have hitherto been in wedlock ; indeed you ought to know it, since by far the greatest part of that unhappiness has proceeded solely from you, and from the cursed machination of your unworthy advisers.—But, no more of that—I do not care to rip up old sores—Heaven knows, I have too many fresh bleeding wounds to complain of ! At length having got rid of my former shame and torment, for wife I ought not to term her ! Good fortune, and my own prudent choice, have given me a wife every way calculated to make me happy ; O ! She is indeed an excellent woman ! Honest affectionate, sensible, prudent, and spirited ! Would to Heaven, my dear Coz, you had just such another ! I am sure we should both of us be the better for it ! To her I had given up the management of my affairs, and the intire disposal of my decayed fortunes. Loving me, as she loves me, and connected with me as she is, my interest must be ever her's, and my money, I know, was safer with her than even in my own pocket ! This you also must have known, for you cannot be ignorant of the inestimable value of a good wife ; and yet—what have you done ? Jealous of your poor kinsman's happiness, and fearful, as one would imagine, that I might be able, by her means, in some degree, to alleviate my sufferings, by extricating myself out of my present difficulties ; and incited, no doubt, by

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my enemies who surround you, you have endeavoured to compel me, regardless of the tried honesty and pure affection of this, my only faithful agent, to throw my purse, the wretched pittance which is left me, into the hands of one, whose character, conduct, and inclinations, with regard to me, are the very opposite to those of my dear spouse——But I must speak out, or my heart will burst! To one who is a harlot of your own making, who has ever been your spy upon all my actions, who has at all times thwarted me in every little endeavour to benefit myself and poor family, who has frequently endeavoured by her tatling misrepresentations to make you hate me, and has too often succeeded in making ill blood between us; and who is, in short, and ever has been my greatest enemy! My poor dear wife, merely because she was faithful to me, must lose the credit of her stewardship, the pleasure of rescuing me from ruin, and even the honour of contributing to your interest, by managing matters so as to enable me to comply, without absolute bankruptcy, with your extravagant demands——nay more——she must endure the infamy and sad inconvenience of a temporary divorce, and even be threatened with a perpetual repudiation. And for what? Only because she did not, upon your requisition, instantly and quietly give up the possession and disposal of my purse, which I myself had intrusted into her hands, to one whom, with all due deference

ference to your mistaken friendship for her, I must take the liberty to call a shameful prostitute——And why, I pray? truly your reason is inimitable! because, forsooth, a rascally agent of your ancestors, who governed the family of one of mine, had thought fit to lay it down as a rule, that a whore is always to be trusted in preference to a wife.——Ah Coz! Coz! what can be the meaning of all this? If natural affection, if the sacred ties of blood cannot affect you, let your own interest speak in my behalf; can it be consistent with the welfare, the splendor of our family, that one principal branch of it should be utterly ruined? It is true, you are powerful, you are wealthy,——or rather, I fear, you have the appearance of power, of riches; which, if the fact be so, as Heaven forbid it should, is undoubtedly the very worst sort of poverty.—But, be that as it may, since human prosperity is but too precarious, who can tell how soon you may want that support, which you are now endeavouring to annihilate? that true friend, whom you are doing all in your power to alienate? Your late law-suit with the Baboons, however successful it may have been, has cost you a power of money, and has involved you in debts, the interest of which your Stewards are puzzled to pay; and, either by the folly or the roguery of your attornies, has ended in a compromise by no means honourable or advantageous to you—your tenants, ill treated

by those cursed cronies of your's, are clamorous and discontented, and some of them even threaten to refuse the payment of your rents. Your sister, my Cousin Indiana, whose custom was the chief source of your wealth, abused and irritated by those same wretches, hates and detests you, and even refuses any longer to employ you, as her clothier; a fact which I know but too well, as upon your account she lately, to my utter ruin, dismissed me from serving her as her linen-draper. The Baboons, united together more firmly than ever, and animated by knowing you to be shamefully unprovided, and embroil'd with your family, threaten to recommence the law-suit, which they will most certainly do, as soon as they can scrape up money enough to fee their lawyers; and, as you well know the trade they drive, you cannot suppose that time to be very distant. Nay, I have heard it whispered, and with some foundation of truth, that they have already privately obtained, and even sent out a writ *ad Capiendum*.—This year seems indeed to be the season of law-suits.—The courts were never fuller of business—and, as you have ever made it a rule to have a finger in every man's pye, it will go hard if you are not some how or other brought into the scrape. Neither do I find that even your old friends, who used to be parties with you, are now likely to afford you much assistance—even Frederick, the Prussian bluman, who was

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so useful to you in your former suit, is not, by what I can find, much inclined to stand by you upon any future occasion. In short, suits upon suits seem to threaten you on every side, while you, bewitch'd, as it should seem, by the black arts of these your false favourites, instead of providing yourself with succour against the day of trouble, are destroying all your resources, offending all your friends, alienating your whole kindred, oppressing and irritating your tenants. What must be the consequence of all this? I dread to think of it! You are the head of our family, and as such, notwithstanding all your ill treatment, I honour you, I love you—do not alienate a heart which is your's—do not drive a real friend to desperation. No one can be warmer in his affection—no one can be better inclined to you—but I have a wife—I have children.—It is true, I am poor.—It is true, I am naturally patient, but a worm will turn when trod on, and a worm has sometimes a sting. For Heaven's sake, look to yourself, your situation is truly critical; do, my dearest Cousin, consider your interest, indeed it is as dear to me as my own. Be just to yourself—be kind to me, and consider the unhappy situation of one who is, and ever will be, as far as is consistent with the being of his poor family,

You most affectionate Cousin, and
Dutiful humble servant,

PATRICK BULL.
P. S.

P. S. That blundering rogue whom you sent hither as your agent to take care of my affairs, disgraces you in every thing he does, and is ruining me;—for Heaven's sake recall him, and send me some honest, sensible man, if such you have, in his place.

TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD,

THE sagacity of malicious speculation may, perhaps, be at a loss to account for the motives which induce me thus frequently to trouble your Lordship. The man, who is unknown, cannot hope for fame; and the man who writes against government, the fountain of recompence, cannot expect reward. *Personality* is not the character of my writings; nor indeed, have I had the temptation of private injury to seduce me to it. Your Lordship has never injured me in any respect, other than *as I am an Irishman*; and if I bear any prepossession against you, I bear it in common with millions; it is that prepossession which every friend of liberty must entertain against an administration, the professions and practices of which are subversive of freedom. Your Lordship, perhaps, will smile, when I assert, what I know to be truth, that I write solely for the good of my country; nor am I much-disposed to controvert

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vert your merriment, or to deprive you, amidst your various difficulties and disgraces, of your own consolation, that of laughing at every thing which is serious.

You affect to despise defeat, yet *canvass* the House of Commons on every petty question, with a feminine solicitude;—you pretend to disregard the printed strictures on your conduct, and yet have the *condescension* to speculate as to the authors of them, and the *justice* to decide on your speculation.

You are happily assisted in the labour of these conjectures, by the Laureats of your household, by your Aides-de-Camps in politics;—and to enhance their own merit and consequence, as your advocates, they have attributed these hostile productions to respectable and senatorial names.—But, surely, you cannot believe that gentlemen, whose public conduct has already bid defiance to your resentment, should be so insensible to fame, as to hide, under an anonymous publication, any thing so popular as an impeachment of your Excellency's conduct.

But your Lordship's experience might have taught you, that it is not the representation of others, but our own actions, that stamp our characters. And how could you, my Lord, whose thirst for glory could rob the grave of laurels, which ought to have been sacred to another, be so inconsistently rapacious as to aspire to a reproach which needed not to have been your's.

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When the wishes of a nation obtained the bill for limiting the duration of Parliament, your Excellency candidly relinquished the honour of that law, by disclaiming the patronage, and reviling the principle of it. But why you should exceed the malice of your enemies, so far as to assume to yourself the dishonour of an altered money-bill, I cannot conjecture !

A man, whose name is only known by your countenance and adoption ; whose sentiments are your pleasure, and whose subsistence your bounty, has, in a newspaper, published under your auspices, and sustained by the contributions of government, formally justified the practice of altering our money-bills.

Was your Lordship jealous, lest any attack should be made on the country you govern, of which you were not supposed to be the author or promoter ? Your opponents in Parliament did not ascribe these alterations to you : why should you, in your prudence, think it necessary to vindicate to yourself this charge, in spite of your enemies, by employing, in defence of such alterations, the hand that moves by your direction, and thus affixing, as it were, your *Privy Seal* to the transaction ?

Since, however, you have chosen to appropriate to yourself the principle, by undertaking the defence, of these alterations, in your polemical Gazette—let us examine how far the

the pen of a Viceroy has been able to sustain the doctrine of tyrants. You cite one authority, and instead of inferences from it, you substitute assertion—your words are these,*

“ In the year 1729, the Commons passed
 “ an altered money-bill, *without abridging*
 “ *their own privilege*, or betraying the rights
 “ of the people, which are effectually se-
 “ cured by the *power of rejecting*, constitu-
 “ tionally vested in the House.”

You say, that the Commons did not abridge their privilege by their act in 1729!—It follows then, by your own admission, that their privilege is, at this day, exactly the same as if that act had not been done—and that therefore, this instance cannot have any influence whatsoever upon the present argument. If it could, your assertion, “ that their privi-
 “ lege was not impaired by it,” is so far false; and if it cannot, your precedent is idle, and your application of it absurd.

But you say, “ that this privilege is *effec-
 “ tually secured* by the *Power* vested in the
 “ Commons, of rejecting money-bills;”—now, either their privilege with respect to money is something *more* than the power of rejection, or it is not.—If it be any thing more, then they have *no privilege* whatsoever as to money—For what is a privilege? It is a *right peculiar*.—Now the power of re-
 N jecting

* See the Bachelor of Jan. 5, 1772.

jecting money-bills is not so—for the Commons can reject all other bills as well as money-bills; and the King and the Lords can reject money-bills as well as the Commons. On the other hand, if it be something *more*; then, it is not effectually secured by the bare *power of rejection*: it *may*, indeed, be secured by that power, provided that power be invariably *exercised in every instance of infringement*—because, if so, no infringement can ever take place.—Now this only shews that it *may be*, but proves that it is *not necessarily, and of course*, secured by this power; for the *bare power*, implies only *a liberty of rejecting*—whereas the privilege can only be preserved by actual rejection.

How egregiously absurd then is it in your Lordship to assert, that the privilege of the Commons is secure from the power of rejection, and to use that as an argument against the *exercise* of that power; when it is the *exercise* of the power, in every case of infringement, and *not* the *power* itself, that is the security; but in quoting Primate Boulter, your ecclesiastical oracle, your Excellency has been *partial*—had you cited the whole passage, it would have appeared, that the Commons in 1729, instantly took fire at the violation of their privilege, and were impregnated with the same sentiments which inspired the Commons in 1753, in 1769, and in 1771; but they were deceived (as you attempted to deceive the Commons this session

on,

on a similar occasion) by an insidious question of adjournment; and during that adjournment they were (as that right Reverend prelate informed us,) betrayed into a temporary compliance to the disadvantage of their rights. —A *temporary* compliance I say! —For in the next session, to at one to posterity for their offence, and to rescind, as far as they could, so dangerous a precedent, they came to the following decision: Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, “ That this House will not proceed “ upon any petition, motion, address, *bill*, or “ vote of credit, for giving any money, unless the *matter* shall have *first* taken its *due* “ progress in the Committees of *Supply* and “ *Ways and means*.” This they declared a *standing order*. Now this not only recognizes the great right of the Commons to originate all money-grants, but as any alteration in England, touching the *matter* of the bill of supply, must, for so much, be an introduction of *new matter*, which cannot, by possibility, have *first* taken its *due* progress in the Committees of *Supply* and *Ways and Means*; it is clear, that this resolution was framed to render it impossible, that any money-bill, *so altered*, should pass for the future.

And now, my Lord, having dispatched your argument,——let me touch on your personality: you triumph in having discovered, that the conduct of Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Brownlow, with respect to the al-

tered *bill* in 1753, was inconsistent with their conduct, relative to the altered *money-bill* of this Session.—Now what was the case of 1753?—There was a redundancy in the Treasury, arising from *former grants*. In consequence of that, a bill for *applying* a part of that redundancy to the discharge of the national debt, was that Session transmitted to Great Britain. The Ministers of the Crown, thinking that such a bill tended to *dispossess* his Majesty of the right, which they supposed, in ordinary course, to belong to him, of *applying* all money, which had been once granted to him by the people, did, in the speech from the Throne, in order to guard the Prerogative, signify his Majesty's *previous consent* to such a bill. And the bill was altered in England, *solely* for the purpose of inserting in the preamble, “That his Majesty's previous consent had been *so given*.” Thus, the alteration was not an imposition, nor alteration of any *duty*. Thus, the bill was not a bill for *raising* or *granting* money, but for *applying* money *already raised and granted*. It was not a bill of *taxation* or *supply*, but of *disposition*; and in some measure of *reassumption*; it was not a bill giving power *to* the Crown, but taking power away *from* the Crown. The dispute was not about the *peculiar privileges* of the Commons in *granting* money, but about the *ordinary prerogative* of the Crown in *applying* money *already granted*. In short, one side affirmed,

affirmed, it *was* a money-bill, and the other side asserted it *was not*.——And though I admit, that they were the more provident and cautious, who rejected the altered bill, because it *appertained* unto money, yet I maintain, that nothing, but the most extreme *disingenuity*, could insinuate that a difference of conduct upon two occasions so dissimilar, involves inconsistency.

But what shall we say of your Excellency's congruity, when you charge Mr. Brownlow and Mr. Ponsonby with want of uniformity, and omit Mr. Pery; whose conduct in that particular coincided with theirs. But it seems it has *of late* been the tone of the Court to make encomiums on Mr. Pery. How long it will last I know not.——But I fear the liberal principles which endear him to his country, will work in due time as an *alterative* upon this partiality of the Castle. At present it is useful to contrast him with Mr. Ponsonby——your Excellency is aware of it.——It is sometimes worth while to suppress one's resentment against the real virtue of one man, for the purpose of conveying a groundless accusation against another.——Your Lordship is acquainted with the stratagem of the *stalking-horse*; and when you wish to *level* at Mr. Ponsonby, you put Mr. Pery *between* you.

Your Excellency is not in the wrong to cultivate the shade of Mr. Pery.——His growth and stature may sometimes shelter you.—

you.—But trust me, my Lord, you are but ill-defended by your penmen of the Green-Cloth, and by your military amanuensis. They are *too little* to afford you concealment or protection. Poor gentlemen!—Condemn'd not only to the unprofitable labours of native sterility, but devoted to digest and circulate *your Lordship's* crudities.—To transmit your resentments to reconcile your incoherences, and to father your abortions! —Who; but must commiserate their lot, the present condition of which is, three times a week to undergo the drudgery of imposed composition; and whose only prospect is the miserable reversion of a doubtful gratitude, and of a capricious bounty.—

Amidst the miscarriage of their toils, they have one consolation.—They must be sufficiently indifferent to your Excellency's person and government.—They are the Swiss of literature; they fight for *bread*, and not for *victory*; and all they desire is, to protract the warfare. If in the lottery of the press, any composition of theirs in your Lordship's favour should turn up, not altogether a blank; it were natural to suppose that, they might wish that its effect were weakened by the confutation of discourse, and that the antidote were administered of a little private *observation* on your Excellency.

Sometimes indeed, (not with a view to compensation doubtless,) they assume the part of champions, and speak of the wounds they
—DOV have

have received in your Lordship's cause.—— Perhaps it is unnecessary to guard your Excellency against the overflowings of generosity!——But if ever the inadvertency of your nature, should incline you to any such excess, it will justify you in your return to œconomy, to reflect, that their sufferings from your adversaries, will as little intitle them to recompence, as their services to you. Their poverty has attracted pity.——Their impotence has defended them from resentment, and their obscurity from retaliation.

If at any time they shall be compelled even to traduce a patron, or to wound a friend, they are not much to be condemned.——The pen and the poinard of the mercenary, are scarcely his own.——The state of slaves is too low for friendship or for honour. The man who employs them ought to remember, that this is the property of their condition; and that he who has purchased away their *virtue*, deserves to suffer by their *vice*.

FABRICIUS.

A BALLAD.

A B A L L A D.

On the rejection of the (1) altered MONEY-BILL.

Re-published with explanatory notes, by different authors.

I.

I'LL tell you a story—'tis not of (2) three
crows;

(2) Nor the dog that the letter refus'd to
disclose :

But a strife 'mongst the Commons that lately
arose,

Which nobody can deny.

II.

(1) In *absolute* governments, where the people have only a *permitted* property, the will of the *monarch* is the source and the limit of taxation—In *free* governments, like those of Great Britain and Ireland, the reverse obtains—and therefore we see that there, the *will* of the *people*, expressed by their Representatives, is the origin and the measure of all supplies—and that the Crown hath *only* a power to *accept* or *refuse*, *not* to *propound* or *alter*.

Montesquieu.

(2) (2) Two *new* stories invented by Sir George Macartney—the one to prove, that there would be no protest or prorogation—the other to shew, there was no scheme of dividing the Revenue Board. People thought he knew these matters better than any one, he being a man of great parts, and having *continual access* to his *own* office. But next day it appeared, that he had *deceived* them

II.

They granted their Sovereign a gallant
supply——
But (3) Thurloe resolv'd (that prerogative
spy)
That a power to alter their bill he would try——
Which nobody can deny.

III.

Then left that the Commons might take it
to heart,
A letter was written by Rochford with
art——
To tell them, the change did not matter a
(a) fart :
Which nobody could deny.

IV.

But when to the Members this letter was
read,
Old Clement suspected—the wise shook their
head ;
A Committee they'd have to compare it, they
said,
Which nobody can deny.

O

V.

them through *forgetfulness*, he having a *treacherous* me-
mory. Sterling.

(3) Attorney General of England, and *practitioner* at
the *bar* of Nandoe's Coffee-house.——He and his con-
nexions are *notorious* friends of liberty in every part of the
British dominions. Boston Gazette.

(a) An expression, whereby the people of Ireland sig-
nify their *respect* to Lord Townshend's administration.

V.

And when they examin'd and found how
 'twas alter'd,
 That Rochford had ly'd, and that (4) Town-
 shend had palter'd :

(5) Burgh swore in a rage, ' They ought
 ' both to be halter'd,'

Which nobody can deny.

VI.

(4) He is a very civil nobleman, and wrote me a letter of congratulation on my being elected an Alderman of the city of Dublin. He is own brother to the celebrated Charles Townshend, deceased, and was appointed to the Lieutenancy of Ireland, in the life-time of his said brother. He is confessed to have done good to this country *one way or another*, and is much to be recommended for complying with the prejudices of the people, in giving the royal assent, which he *could not help*, to the octennial bill, though he always declared it would be the ruin of the country ; of which there can be no doubt, as it must in the end cause a new bridge to be built over the Liffey. His greatest exploit, as a soldier, was his taking Quebec, sword in hand, in person, and then writing letters to England, ascribing all the glory of the day to General Wolfe, who was dead, and who had no more to say to it than Todd. He also accepted kindly of the money grants of the Parliament of Ireland, on the 27th of December, 1769, giving the royal assent to the same. He then read distinctly a *civil protest against* the Commons, calling them *law-breakers* instead of *law-makers*, to the manifest satisfaction of Judge Robinson, who smiled all the time ; and then he prorogued the Parliament with *great good humour* ; having waited to the last minute for the coming in of the packet, to see whether he might not have *leave to dissolve* them. His friends advised him to return to England immediately after the late short Session, but he *prudently* declined their councils, foreseeing that he should *return with more advantages after the successes* of this winter ;

VI.

(6) Flood, (7) Langrishe, (8) Bushe, (9) Hufley, were all in a flame;
 (10) Pery, (11) Brownlow, (12) O'Brien,
 each patriot name,
 Said the bill ne'er should pass, but go back
 as it came,
 Which nobody can deny.

O 2

VII.

ter; and accordingly he hath this Session carried the new Commissioners of Excise, and Mr. Dyson's pension, by a large majority; as also, the altered money-bill; to the great satisfaction of the English Ministry, and to the mortification of our foolish patriots; many of whom are my customers, for whom I have the greatest respect, veneration, and liking.

G. Faulkner.

(5) A gentleman, whose principles of government differ from those of John Monk Mason, Esq.

Com. Journals.

(6) We have done *justice* to this gentleman in the Bachelor, notwithstanding he opposes administration virulently. He thinks a great deal of himself, and imitates Doctor Charles Lucas. He writes *all* the papers in the Freeman and Hibernian Journals in *verse* and in *prose*. He applied to Lord Townshend for the collection of Kilkenny, in the room of his friend Mr. Langrishe, and also to be tried for his life, and was refused both. He has talked a great deal of stuff this winter in the Parliament House, and would have talked a great deal more but for fear of Sir George Macartney and Counsellor Power.

The authors of notes on the epistle to G. E. Howard.

(7) This gentleman is a great joker—but I believe the joke will be against him, when I am collector of Kilkenny. I did not, however, like to see him vote for government

VII.

The Courtiers began at each other to stare;
 (13) Will Gamble was absent; (14) Jack
 Mason not there;
 Confusion for once seiz'd on (15) Averell's
 heir,

Which nobody can deny.

VIII.

vernment the first day of this Session. But the next Sunday I went to levee, with my friend Jemmy Agar, who made the bargain, and Lord Townshend gave me a wink and laughed; as much as to say, "Joe, you are snug." I hear he has since done for himself on the money-bill, and exposed himself so much by what he said, that his Crony Harry Flood *cried* to see him make such a fool of himself.

Joe Mathews.

(8) This young gentleman is a relation of Dean Marley, who is a friend to Captain Jephson—And therefore probably concerned in some publications against my character. He perfidiously and ungratefully opposed government four days after he got an employment, which gave me a good opportunity to lash him in my poetical dialogue on the times; when I called him Judas Iscariot, and a Goose.

Burrowes.

(9) This gentleman's being in Parliament must hurt him in his profession, as every body now sees, that he has neither talents nor liberality of sentiment. He does not *stick* to the question as *I do*, but is fond of being personal, without ingenuity. I thought him tolerable, however, upon Scott—and that is the only thing upon which I remember Sir George and me ever to have differed.

R. Power.

(10) Government accuse this gentleman of great perfidy, in the refusing to betray the rights of the Commons, though they had placed him in the chair for that purpose.

(11) This

VIII.

For (16) Power hobbl'd up, and cry'd,
" what is this rout ?"

" ('Twas he that gave Blackstone the elegant clout)

" Sure Cotton's included, tho' Cotton's left out.

Which nobody can deny.

IX.

(11) This is a wrong-headed zealot. He opposes the present administration, though he has no view to getting a place or title by it. Upon the next general election, Sir Arch. Acheson will shew him the difference.

A Freeholder of Armagh.

(12) This Baronet can have no regard for this country, having no property in it, and being descended from upstarts and aliens.

Sir James Ware.

(13) We have made the strictest enquiry about this gentleman, and can only find that he is related to the Provost.

(14) A person whose *republican* principles have prevented his promotion, and justly *endeared* him to the *people*.

(15) By these words the Provost *cannot* be intended ; Bishop Averell, though raised to a mitre by his interest only, having ungratefully disappointed him, by leaving his fortune away from him, which I would not have done. Under the word " Provost," in the index to Guicardini's history translated, there is a reference to the following passage: " Amongst the rest there came to this Council " Francisco Andrea, a bold, bad man. He had some " talents, and was thought to have more. His style and " utterance were vulgar and provincial ; his pleasantry " was gross, and his seriousness boisterous. Of a strong " body he was able ; and of a licentious mind, he was willing to accommodate himself to the vices of the great.

" Next

IX.

(17) Smooth Godfrey declar'd, " 'twas all
one in the Greek ;

" And hoped, we never would act upon
pique,

" But if George gave a flap, that we'd turn
t'other cheek,

Which nobody can deny.

X.

" Next to the turbulent aspiring of his nature, the de-
" bauchery of wine was his favourite propensity. But,
" it was his connexion with a woman which raised him.
" An eminent courtesan, joining to personal charms
" the grace of theatrical accomplishments, hath access to
" power, if it be not intrenched in virtue. Francisco's
" paramour had these advantages, and used them to pro-
" mote her lover. He thus became an intimate of the
" worst men in the papal Court, and readily consented to
" be the instrument of their views against his country, in
" order to secure his personal advancement. By their
" interest, he was made president of the principal religi-
" ous and literary foundation in that country. What
" indignation did it excite in the wise and virtuous, to
" behold the education and principles of the rising age
" committed to such a guardian ! The treasures of the
" academy, piously bequeathed by the former president,
" were wasted to erect an edifice for the peculiar habita-
" tion of his unworthy successor ; and in a situation dis-
" tinct and separate from the seminary, that he might
" be exempted from the discipline of the society : of a com-
" pliance, with which he ought to have to have been the
" most eminent example. He prostituted his prepositorial
" authority to pervert the public principles of the youth,
" to the end that he might become master of the secular
" power of the society, and by the most barbarous op-
" pression, injured the fame, and was ultimately instru-
" mental to the untimely death of an ingenious youth,
" whose integrity he could not corrupt. He soon be-
came

- (18) Macartney profess'd, " that for half his estate,
 " He would not have wish'd this had come in debate,
 " Tho' he thought the *Amendments* were not very great."

Which nobody can deny.

" came too notorious for hypocrisy, so that his character
 " had no refuge in vice, and it sought for none in virtue.
 " But never did he so untimely abandon himself to infamy,
 " as in the government of the second Borgia. Before, there might have been observed in him a total oblivion of right and decency. But the most active and determined flagitiousness was now professed. The gradation of his enormities astonished good men; insomuch that instead of resolutely opposing their progress, they were rather employed in wondering whither they would reach. The Governor, a perverse, violent, timid, capricious, and debauched man, perfectly agreed with Andrea. A sordid, yet expensive household; excess where it tended to licence, and defect in every thing that constitutes dignity; marked this Governor's æconomy. Midnight heard, but did not terminate the uproar of his festivities, whilst in the morning, the halls and galleries of his palace seemed to belong to some deserted mansion; not a domestic was to be seen, nor did they retain any traces of their being inhabited, save that they were stained with the surfeit of the over-night's debauch. If you were sent for by Borgia, on business the most important, from the farthest part of the dominion, he frequently was not to be found; so that you returned without even seeing him, unless you might perhaps descry him stealing through a postern, to avoid the conference he himself had appointed. His private favours were insults; his public measures were injuries;
 " and

XI.

- “ If the bill they rejected, he simper’d and
 said,
 “ That the King would appoint a new House
 in their stead ;
 “ And as for the placemen, they’d forfeit
 their bread.”

Which nobody can deny.

XII.

“ and if some of his base qualities had not frustrated
 “ others of them, his administration must have been
 “ public ruin. His cruelty was equal to the dastardliness
 “ of his spirit. One instance will suffice. Certain sol-
 “ diers having been sentenced to be shot, he ordered all
 “ the boys who performed the martial music of the bat-
 “ talion, to attend the ceremony of the execution ; and
 “ the more to sport with the sympathy of their tender
 “ minds, he commanded them to walk round and round
 “ the panting corse of these unhappy victims, that not
 “ a convulsion, nor an agony of expiring nature might
 “ escape their sensibility. Amidst the contempt of the
 “ wise, the detestation of the good, and the fury of the
 “ populace, Borgia, and his favourite Andrea, conti-
 “ nued to consort in every vice and folly. Wisdom was,
 “ if possible, ensnared ; integrity corrupted ; and beauty
 “ deceived and injured. Never were two men more fit-
 “ ted to each other, nor for the pursuits in which they
 “ were naturally engaged. They had no character to
 “ forfeit, they had no compunctions to elude.”

Doctor Wilder.

(16) A very able and strong built Counsellor at law ;
 who maketh many facetious and eloquent speeches in
 Parliament. His action is forcible and easy ; his figure
 graceful and compact ; the expression of his countenance
 amiable and forbidding—and his matter equal upon all
 subjects. He formed himself on the model of Mr. Malone
 and Mr. Hutchinson—both of whom he much excelleth
 —the

XII.

The matter was grave, and all joke was
 a-part;
 Joe Miller, Poor Robin, and Watson so
 smart,
 Were now of no use, tho' he had them by
 heart,

Which nobody can deny.

P

XIII.

—the former in dignity and argument, the latter in wit and dexterity. His services have been greatly under-rated by government. He having as yet only gotten an employment of 1500l. per ann. beside another of 600 per ann. which he purchased—nothing but his great intimacy with Sir George Macartny, could have retarded his advancement. He publicly exposed the ignorance of Judge Blackstone, in point of law, and very much damaged the first volume of his commentaries, not only by *handling* it very roundly, but by giving it several severe thumps against the benches, with much *grace* and *energy*. And it is to this transaction the poet alludeth, by the words, “Elegant Clout.”

Authors of the notes in the epistle to G. E. Howard.

(17) A rash and unthinking man, who prefers speculative notions of liberty to the solid and substantial interest of himself and his family. He is a great sloven in his dress; and has twice refused to be made a Chief Judge, though pressed thereto by Mr. Justice Robinson and others.

G. Nangle.

(18) This gentleman, considering the great expectations with which he began the world, hath been unlucky. He was sent to Russia as an Ambassador, where he got the rheumatism; and in his return through Poland, he was knighted. He no sooner got to London, than he had the mistfortune to be appointed Secretary to Lord Townshend. His connexion with a certain unpopular Earl, it is imagined, brought these things upon him. He has the best
 memory

XIII.

The Prime Serjeant (19) then, with a shuffling preamble,
 Like a nag that before he can canter must
 amble,
 Betwixt right and wrong made a whimsical
 shamble;
 Which nobody can deny.

XIV.

memory in the world, and retaineth a multitude of things, which nobody else ever remembered. He not only hath by heart Joe Miller, but the Wit's Vade Mecum, the Merry Fellow, Nash's Jest, Every Man his own Companion, and a variety of other ingenious authors, so that he is never at a loss for something to say.

By poor Robin,

We are told, the poet alludeth to a celebrated antient ode, intituled, "the Babes of the Wood."——That shining performance, Watson's almanack, was of singular service to this gentleman and to his country; and gave him great influence in the northern courts, by enabling him to foretell an eclipse. He hath a large rental, which he ordered to be laid on the table of the House of Commons for the perusal of the Members. His remembering and quoting, during dinner, at Lord Holland's table, every word of a pamphlet, written by his Lordship, entitled, "every Man his own Broker," recommended him much to that nobleman's attention, who generously gave him just notions of the prerogative royal. When the Commons pretended to *share* with the Privy Council in framing money-bills, he spoke roundly to them, and told them, that it was very ungenteel when they were giving a present to make a rout about it, or, as he very significantly expressed it, "*to look a gift horse in the mouth.*" He is a man of great abilities, but he is so modest that he can never bring himself to make much use of them; and publicly declared, one day when he expected

- “ ’Twas important he said——and avail’d
not a groat,
“ But whether it was right, or whether it
was naught,
“ Or whether he’d vote for it, or whether
he would not.”

He’d neither assert nor deny.

to die of the gripes, or some obstruction in the Parliament-house, that he would have no monument, being satisfied to be entombed in the hearts of his countrymen.

Authors of the notes on the epistles to G. E. Howard.

(19) What diverts me most in this ge’mman, is his anxiety for fear of losing popularity, as if he had any to lose. He is jealous of me, and as peevish as an old maid. I love to teize him. I endeavour to put him on as odious ground as I can in Parliament, and then I am the first to complain of him, that government should expose their servants to so much obloquy without occasion. I magnify to him the favours and confidence I receive from government, and my correspondence with Rigby, &c. which nettles him to the heart. He is finical for Lord Townshend, who makes very good sport of him. One day he dined at the Castle, and when the company broke up, Lord Townshend, who pretended to be more in liquor than he was, threw his arms about his neck, and cried out, “ My dear Tisdall, my sheet anchor! my whole dependance! don’t let little Hutchinson come near me, keep him off, my dear friend; he is damn’d tiresome, keep him off.” At other times his Excellency makes formal appointments to dine at Palmerstown, at a distant day. The Prime Serjeant invites all the officers of State; Mrs. Hutchinson is in a hurry; they send to me for my cook; and after a fortnight’s bustle, when dinner was half spoiled, his Excellency sends an excuse, and dines with any common acquaintance that he happens to meet in strolling about the street that morning. This
ge’m-

XV.

The next that step'd forward was (20) innocent Phil,
 Who said, " that in things of the kind he'd
 no skill,
 " But yet that he thought it a mighty good
 bill."

Which nobody can deny.

XVI.

ge'mman has a pretty method enough of expressing himself indeed, but in points of law, there are better opinions. My friend, the late Primate, who knew men, said, that the Prime Serjeant was the only person he ever met with, who got ready money in effect, for every vote he gave in Parliament. He has got, amongst the rest, the reversion of my Secretary's office; but I think I shall outlive him.

Phil. Tisdall.

(20) This gentleman has not been long in Parliament; and has not had an opportunity, therefore, of learning the craft of politics: but with the simplicity and innocence of youth and inexperience, has always espoused the popular party in this country, and resisted the encroachments of the Crown. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that he has not received any considerable favours from government, or that his offices at present should not exceed 5000l. per annum. He has, however, obtained lately a reversionary grant of the Alnager's place, after the death of John Hely Hutchinson, Esq; with a promise, that a pension of 1000l. a year, *at will*, which the *latter* hath lately obtained, shall be annexed to the office as an *additional salary*, for the life of the said Philip Tisdall; which accounts for that inviolable affection which subsists between them. He gave his interest in Ardee, to Mr. Ruxton, against his own brother, rather than disturb the ancient and well-grounded rights of that worthy patriot; and generously refused to harass that gentleman with a vexatious suit, assisted by a confederacy in the courts, and on the bench, though he might thereby

XVI.

Then mov'd to adjourn 'till Monday or so,
“ That Townshend might talk to each friend
and each foe,
“ And then he could guess how the matter
wou'd go.”

Which nobody can deny.

XVII.

Thus Hely, Sir George, Godfrey, Power,
and Phil,
Would fain have seduc'd them to swallow this
pill;
But the Commons soon smoak'd them, and
threw out the bill.

Which nobody can deny.

XVIII.

And here we conclude our historical strain;
So God blefs his Majesty—(21) long may he
reign,
To alter our money-bills always—in *vain*!
Which nobody can deny.

thereby have put money into the said brother's pocket, who is an officer of the court, and at least have enabled him to have carried on the contest at Mr. Ruxton's expence.

Dick Dawson.

(21) I hope this will amount to high treason!—It wishes his Majesty to live long, but then it is only on condition it should seem; and that a condition, which, it is to be hoped, will fail, viz. That his Majesty may be frustrated in the assertion of his prerogative over the money of his subjects. May not this be construed into a species of imagining the King's death? Quere, vide, Scroggs and Jeffries, the doctrine on ship-money, and my pamphlet in 1753 above all.

Christ. Robinson.

*A LETTER from SINDERCOMBE, to
his E——y the L——d L——t.*

My L——d,

YOUR ancestors were lovers of liberty. You entered the world with a respectable paternal name. It was worth your while to take care that it should descend unimpaired to posterity.

You have had the misfortune to have many enemies, or many faults, for you have been much censured. If you ask me, how could such a man, as the persons describe, whom you call your enemies, be appointed to the L——y of I——d? I will not answer them, that you were appointed by an administration, the only uniform object of which, has been to injure or insult every part of the British dominions; that no other man would trust them, or that they would not have trusted you; that they knew you to be as pliant as incapable; and that you would pledge yourself to the public, without a blush, for what you would never have performed. These are great considerations. But something more was necessary. You had a brother: a prodigy of parts! In other particulars you may have resembled him. They would not make him the Minister of E—g—l—d,

l—d, and therefore they made you V——y here.

You began your reign by a public falshood, and promised in the f—h from the T——ne, a law for establishing the independency of J—es. A bill, with such a title, came indeed from G——t B——t——n ; but in such a form, that no man was found so profligate as to defend it. Your hirelings have not insinuated that this was any species of performance ; and therefore I will not prove that this was an aggravated breach of faith. You gave us, however, what you did not promise ; the O——n——l B——ll. Notwithstanding this accidental difference, there was a perfect similitude in your sentiments with respect to these two laws ; for you intend to give neither. As your inclination was the same, so your wisdom with respect to them was equal. You had the reproach of non-performance as to the one, without the honour of performance as to the other ; and you tacked a dissolution of P——m——t to the O——n——l B——ll, to assist you in carrying the a—gm——nt——t——n. Do not complain that you are charged with the insertion of the clause concerning the dissolution. You must submit to be responsible for every measure respecting this country, whilst you submit to g—v——n it. Such, however, was the easiness of P——m——t, that this promise which was not performed, and this performance which was not intended, though they could

could not cloath your adm—n—str—t—n, with success, protected it, for one session, from indignity.

Your g—v—n—nt had but one object; the a—g—m—t—n of the army. I shall not enter into the merits of that measure, for fear I should differ with too great an authority. Your professional partialities too shall be indulged. But let me question your discretion. You proposed the measure in your first s—ss—n of P—l—m—t; but not till you had alienated the persons, by whom you might have been sure to have carried it. A contest arose between E—g—h g—v—n—nt, and I—sh confederacy; and you have made the a—gm—t—t—n the ground on which they fought. Let us compare the state of these respective parties, at that time, and at present; and see how far your ability has encreased, or your insufficiency has diminished the strength of g—v—n—nt.

You contended the first s—ss—n at an unlucky juncture. An a—gm—t—t—n of the army after the Committee of S—p—y was closed, which was necessary to provide for an additional expence; in a time of profound peace, when troops are the least requisite; soon after a barbarous use had been made of the military in England, and an unconstitutional one in America; when the faith of g—v—n—nt, with respect to the J—es B—ll, had not been maintained; and just upon the verge of a general election. This,
in

in point of time and circumstance, I say, independent even of the measure, was unfavourable ground. And on this ground, and in favour of such a measure, with what an host had you to contend? With the extended connexion, the revenue influence, and the popular manners of one leader; with the compact force, and the hereditary firmness of another; with the first title, the first name, and the first fortune, of the nation, in a third; supported by the esteem of the kingdom, by the popularity of the capital, by the p—m—ry influence of a reputable phalanx, and by the calm inflexibility of his own determination. You had the craft of T—ll, and the rhetorick of H——n to oppose you. And besides the reconciliated force of these formerly hostile connexions, and formerly hostile advocates, you had to cope with the strength and reputation of an independent body, armed with the experience, the genius, the weight, and popularity of their leaders. G——n stood alone. Unsupported indeed, but, as yet, not prostrated by you; and G—t alone was beat only by four. Thus stood the force of g——nt at the end of your first f——n of P——t. How did it stand at the conclusion of the last?

You remained here for two years to lay siege to opposition. You made two summer progresses, but without advantage. I will not describe these excursions circumstantially. Not only the page of history, but the news-
 Q paper

paper of the day, would be disgraced by a detail of irregularities as mean as capricious. You negotiated with the powerful, as if they were insignificant; and with the honourable, as if they were like yourself. You treated with every man in the same tone. No wonder you treated in vain. In two instances you seemed to succeed. The old leaders of debate on the side of the C——rt were seen again at the head of your troops; and the rusty buckler of T——ll, and the scoured shield of H——n were again held up in your defence. The wise, however, gave you no credit for this event. They did not allow you to have converted those who were never of a different persuasion. One grew conscious that he was too old to oppose; and the other, that he was too notorious to oppose with effect. As a soldier, you should have punished their former desertion. As a statesman, you should have prevented it.

What was the end of all your preparations? From the beginning of the winter, to the day on which you pr——ged the P——l——m——t so commendably, in every material question, almost, you were defeated. After having had the power of the Cr——n in your hands for two years, you were beat on a critical motion, in the very last week of the last s——n, by a majority, eight or nine times as great as that by which you had been beaten in the former s——n of P——m——t. An accession of weakness, my L——d, which
furnishes

furnishes a proof of your talents for g—nt; and shews that your ability is equal to your reputation. Neither does it apply solely to the establishment of your character as a negociator. Without this example, who could have thought that your northern star would have left you so benighted.

I will not enumerate your miscarriages, nor describe the wounds they have given to g——nt. I will speak of that measure, in which alone you were successful, the augm—t—on I mean; and if you were deficient there, what shall we say of your defeats? Management is sometimes commendable, because it is sometimes necessary. You should have remembered, my L—d, that when M—j—sty capitulates, it is scarcely M—j—y. You should not, therefore, have exposed your S—v—gn to the unk—gly necessity of hearing conditions from his people. The excesses of the staff, and of absentee pensions, might have been corrected by spontaneous, not by a stipulated reduction. If his M—y were to descend too from his Th——ne, and to relinquish a part of his prerogative, in the disposition of his troops it ought not to have been done palpably to make terms, and to article for the a—gm—t—n. By our laws, the honour of a Peer is equivalent to the most sacred obligation, and by at least equal reason, so is that of the King. You suggested a doubt of its sufficiency. And by the proffer of your S—t—y, this sacred obligation of your R——l master was

recited in the b---ll of supply, that his M——y, in assenting to that law, might give a bond for the performance of his honour; and register the mortgage of his word in the rolls of P——t. What atonement can you make to your degraded f——n? A confession of folly will not be sufficient. There are stations in which incapacity is criminal. You should have explored your head and your heart, before you hazarded the dignity of the C——n on either. If you are not too worthless to have a friend, and too despicable to have an enemy, you might have found one, from whose kindness, or from whose censure, you might have extracted counsel. Unhappy man! And is this what you call success? Is this the boast and triumph of your Ad——n?

I have spoke of that circumstance of your g——n——t in which you exult. The rest of it, and particularly the last act, which even you do not pretend to justify, I will reserve for a future and distinct consideration. But that we may be the less surprized, I will touch in the mean time on some other passages of your life. You never affected public spirit but once, and then you pretended to patronize the militia bill in E——nd. I am not going to charge you with tergiversation, my L--d. Not to urge in support of that charge, that the ridicule of the law is now the favourite topic of your convivial moments. No, my L---d, you are not an apostate. Some men
are

are too dull for madness, and some too profligate for inconsistency. You never supported the militia bill in truth. You only opposed the D--ke of C--mb--l--d.

There is sometimes a curiosity of caprice and absurdity, which it is pleasant to observe. You went into the army. I will not say that it was the charm of order that caught you, or the regularity of military discipline that was conformable to your disposition. You chose it as a path of advancement. By the influence of your friends, you were placed about the person of that great Prince whom I have just mentioned. He was revered by the public. He will be character'd to the latest posterity as an hero. He was caricatured once; and it was by your L—ds—p. What tempted you to this extravagance? Was it that no contradiction might be wanting to your character? That a soldier, you should insult your commander? that a slave to power, you should affront the favourite son of your M—n—ch? That in his service, and of his Household, you should do what a generous and sober enemy would not attempt? Yet let me attribute it to the operation of levity. Implacability is not the characteristic of your mind, Let me rather celebrate the forgiveness of your temper; and instance that Colonel Lut—ll has only been referred to the parliamentary correction of a political bravo, like himself; whilst you spared his father, whom you had called to an unequal combat.

But

But though I mention that moderation which your professional prejudices could not overcome, I must mention that rashness which higher considerations did not restrain. Why did you forget the M—n—ch you represent? In the dwelling of the supreme magistrate of the metropolis, at a public meeting, dedicated to peace, why did you launch the thunder of a reversionary challenge at a venerable Member of Parliament, decrepit with infirmity? The dullness and servility of Aldermen cried shame upon you.

From the impartial observer, let me become a monitor, my L—d, and, above all things, let me warn you against the avarice of fame. Nothing is so dangerous. I will make an error of your own, my example. In your mind I am told, it is your glory to have served at Q—b—c. Take care that it may not be your shame. You were third in command under the great W——fe. You saw the military hope of the British nation expire. A great man might have envied him his death. A friend only could have envied him his glory. I appeal to your L——p, for in this you must be my testimony as well as my theme. You saw him struggling, according to his own expression, with a choice of difficulties. You saw him bending under a complicated and increasing infirmity. He had a noble heart, a wise head, and a performing hand. In such circumstances, and by such qualifications, when you saw him be-
come

come the idol of a fond nation, and of an applauded army; when you saw him smiling in death, because it was accompanied by his country's victory; with what passion were you inspired? Did the nobleness of emulation seize you? Like Themistocles, did the triumphs of Miltiades deprive you of repose? Or, like Cæsar, did you weep over the tomb of Alexander? No. If you went to his grave, you went not to offer the applause of surviving heroism to the illustrious dead, but to supplant his monument, and to defraud him of his fame*. How did the people of England feel, the untutored people? His death filled his country with lamentation. After a considerable interval, the remains of that great man landed in Great Britain. No honour which the living can pay to the deceased was omitted. As if victory still followed him, the news of fresh conquest soon succeeded. Every part of the kingdom resounded with congratulation, except one. The region, adjacent to the residence of the venerable matron who had given him birth, was

* I thought it unnecessary to mention that you usurped the province of your brother commander, who survived, as well as the fame of the departed; and, with an ignorant, or arrogating hand, signed the capitulation, which ought to have been subscribed and ratified by the signature of the second in command. If it were absurdity, we are used to overlook it in your L——p; and if it were intentional, an injury to the living is more easily forgiven than inhumanity to the dead.

was silent. An universal sentiment of heroic compassion struck the people. They stifled even public joy, and would not suffer a sound of triumph to invade the solemnity of her just grief. Thus did that undistinguishing multitude, whom you affect to despise, mark their veneration for their departed hero; whilst you, my L——d, a brother soldier, and connected with him in command, had the justice and generosity to endeavour to defame him.

SINDERCOMBE.

BROGHILL's *answer to* SINDERCOMBE.

I HAD some satisfaction in reading your letter, not that I admit the authenticity of your facts, or admire the force of your arguments, nor that I think the public will be better enabled to judge of the measures of government, by the communication of your sentiments, or that the L——d L———t will be reformed by the severity of your animadversions; but as a well-wisher to the person and administration of his E———y, I am pleased to find that a writer of no despicable talents, is obliged to resort for the materials of invective to the stale refuse of news-paper anecdotes, and the exploded calumnies of vulgar detraction. You have collected the
remnants

remnants of both, with a malicious industry, and tricked them out in all the tinsel of antithesis, and the second-hand frippery of imitated periods. You have kept a reverend eye upon that great Homer of defamation, Junius; and like your master, have created a monster of your own imagination, in order to shew how ingeniously you can rail at it.

There is something very inconsistent in the advice with which you begin your letter, that L——d T———d should think it *worth his while* (your own elegant expression) to deliver down unimpaired to posterity, a name distinguished by the virtue of his ancestors, when at the same time, you do every thing to prevent the benefit of your own admonition, at once throwing dirt upon his reputation; and warning him to take care it may not be sullied.

A writer, whose principal aim, like your's, is to rail, must trace up every political event to a corrupted source. Accordingly, in rejecting some pretended causes of L——d T———d's appointment, your very candour is no less malicious, than your sagacity, in fixing upon that which appears to you to be the true one. The interest of families is generally the same; and a great station, obtained by the just reputation of brothers, is seldom held upon ignominious conditions, or used for unworthy purposes.

Full of the best intentions towards the country he was to govern, he opened his first

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Session

Session with the promise of a law to secure the independence of Judges; and why that promise was not fulfilled in its utmost extent, must be asked, not on this side of the water, but perhaps of a quondam minister, whose Jesuitical politics seldom had any higher view than to secure his own department from encroachments, by impeding the business, and diminishing the credit of every other.—The public, however, have little to regret, as no inconveniences have been known to result from this disappointment; and the attainment of ten such laws, to secure what was never invaded, could not be considered as equivalent to that which was never expected, though so often demanded, the limitation of Parliaments.

It is difficult to determine, upon what authority you so confidently assert, that his E———y never intended, that is, never wished to give either. Is it the shrewdness of your own conjecture? Or has it been suggested to you by that gentleman of *popular manners*, whom you represent so honourably contending against government, in its own armour, and with its own weapons, at the head of his revenue legion of collectors, surveyors, waiters, searchers, packers, and gaugers! He indeed might have told you, that as to himself, he never wished success to the limitation-bill, notwithstanding his pretended zeal for it; that he had found more than one C——f G———r, on whose sympathy

pathy he could repose the insincerity of his bosom; and knowing little more than the station of L——d T——d, concluded that would operate, as it had done before, for the gratification of his private views, which were generally inconsistent with his public declarations. Were these authorities however more powerful, the stubborn fact would not bend before them. We have the law; and the people have paid the honest tribute of their gratitude to him, who disdained an under-hand stipulation to obstruct it, whose name will appear with unrivalled lustre in the records of Parliament, and whose memory will be revered while there is any sense of independence, or any abhorrence to oppression, in the yeomanry of Ireland. You next tell us, that the success of the augmentation was the principal object of the Administration, and you impute the miscarriage to his want of management, though you enumerate a catalogue of difficulties, which made success almost impossible. Thus hurried along by a rage to criminate, you either confound the charge with the justification, or, (which is more likely) you suppose the incautious reader may do it for you.

Some circumstances unfavourable to the measure he could not foresee, and others from a regard to his own dignity, he could not wish to prevent. Of the first sort were, the closing the Committee of Supply, (which could not be kept open 'till the enabling act,

previously necessary for the augmentation of the forces was passed by the legislature of England) and the clamours raised against the army there, and in America, and for interposing, at the desire of the Magistracy in both countries, to suppress riots, and restore order, for which no civil authority was found sufficient. Of the second, was the clause of dissolution in the limitation-bill, agreeable to the true spirit of the law, as such the object of the people's wish, and therefore entitled to the recommendation of government.—But the great difficulty, and the great offence of all remains to be accounted for, the alienation of parties. The public have long known this was the real cause of opposition, but till you appeared, no one was found hardy enough to impute it as the crime of administration. To see the business of the nation conducted without the venal concurrence of a rapacious confederacy, had long been the wish and the despair of the people. Those who revered the dignity of the Crown, were sorry to see it degraded by the supineness or timidity of its representatives. Too many administrations had been distinguished by events of no greater importance than new accessions of influence to connexions already overgrown, and the shameful barter of the favours of government, to secure the repose, or to gratify the avarice of the Governor. No wonder then, when a new spirit of activity and disinterestedness appeared at the Castle, that new maxims should be

be adopted, and new pretences held out by the disappointed brokers in Parliamentary traffic——without changing their principles, they suddenly changed their conduct, and united all their strength to harrafs him whom they could neither seduce nor intimidate. The well disciplined cohorts of L—n—r and S—h—n, fell into the ranks at the first tap of the drum; and the motly bands of P——y were cajoled and menaced into obedience. A body of independent irregulars joined the standard, not the cause of opposition, and after disputing every inch of ground, victory was decided in their favour by an inconsiderable superiority. It required no small degree of spirit to look this formidable alliance in the face, and nothing but the greatest circumspection could have prevented its being stronger.

So far your capital objection to him as a Statesman is without foundation; yet admitting, as I do, that the success of the augmentation was his principal object, I should be at a loss how to defend his sufficiency, had he again been baffled; but to the confusion of your own argument, you are obliged to acknowledge, that in this measure he has succeeded; and let the voice of truth tell you, how with such peculiar felicity, as to give at once new vigour to the Crown, and new security to the people; to unite in its support the real patriot by his principle, and the false one by his pretence; to leave even jealousy without

without a fear, and ingenuity without one colourable objection. But it seems you are as much offended with the new modification of the measure, and the terms upon which it was obtained in the second Session, as its not being obtained at all in the former. You are hurt to see Majesty descending from the Throne, and capitulating with the people. I have never understood that an amicable agreement between the King and the subject, for the mutual benefit of both, has been ever considered as a degradation of royalty.

The Crown has often made exchanges of a similar nature, surrendering prerogative for revenue; and some of the greatest improvements of the constitution have arisen from such a commerce. Had his Majesty, or his representative, meanly stipulated with *individuals* for the support of his measures, and, according to what seems to be the great mystery of your politics, promised or bribed them into compliance, the King might then indeed be said to have descended from his Throne, and to have prostituted the royal dignity.—Your prosecution against him as a Statesman being closed, you proceed to arraign him as a senator and a soldier. An impartial account of his conduct in both these relations, would be his best panegyric and your fullest refutation. His ample fortune and splendid expectations, his voluntary engagement in an un-lucrative and perilous profession; the spirit with which he relinquished, and with which he

he resumed it ; the testimony of the Generals he served under, and of the armies he commanded, have all contributed to set a seal upon his character, and are such memorials to his honour, as the most ingenious malice will never be able to efface.

You are grossly ignorant of, or you grossly misrepresent the motives of his Parliamentary conduct. He patronized the militia-bill, and the D——e of C———d was no friend to it. This was the cause of their misunderstanding. He preferred the duty he owed his country to every other consideration, and discharged it faithfully, though the temporary disappointment of his military ambition, and the frowns of a Prince, were to be the forfeit. When that Prince discountenanced a measure so congenial to the English constitution, he opposed Mr. T——sh——d, not Mr. T——sh——d him.——As to the rest, I will not disturb the little triumph of your fancy, but rather thank you for that play of words, which having led you from things to sound, has spared me the trouble of an answer to an accusation too frivolous to deserve one.

There remain but two particulars more to be noticed, and then I shall follow you to a conclusion. L——d T———d's correction of Col. L——tt——l by a political bravo, is no less false than his launching the thunder of a reverfionary challenge at Dr. L———s. The mentioning Col. L——tt——'s name in the H. of C———s was merely accidental, and
from

from the circumstances of the time and the occasion, could not possibly have happened from suggestions or preconcert. 'It is in vain to refer you to all the Members of the House who were present, for you knew the falshood before you published it. As to the venerable infirm Member, his own petulance drew upon him a reprimand, which his vanity chose to interpret into a challenge, yet L——d T———d's words bore no such meaning, nor were so understood by any person present.

At your conclusion you labour hard in the affected strains of ungenue pathetic, to give a mournful description of deceased merit at the expence of the living, and your impotence seems to encrease in proportion to your efforts: *disease* and *death*, triumphs and lamentations, funeral obsequies, a venerable matron, fiends and heroes, Greeks and Romans, graves and monuments, are all grouped in the gloomy picture.

While the yet undecided fate of Canada and of a British army were depending, the General, who succeeded to the command, had no leisure to cull such flowers of rhetorick to deck the grave of the departed conqueror: but being himself a soldier, he paid a more judicious tribute to the merit of his colleague, by publicly testifying that his intrepidity and skilful operations had ensured the victory.

I must spend a few words more to detect another calumny, which has bashfully retired
from

from your text into an humble note, where you accuse him of usurping General M—n's province, and ignorantly or arrogantly signing the capitulation. After the death of General W——e, G——l M——k——n was carried on board a ship in the river wounded, as it was thought mortally; and the command devolving upon L——d T———d, it was his duty and his province to sign the capitulation.

Having now done with your letter, allow me to say a word or two to your person, and to guess at your character by the marks of it in your composition.

You are not the friend of the community in general, for you wish to see all power engrossed by a few individuals: you are not the friend of Irish liberty, or of English government, for when you wish the tone of prerogative may never be relaxed, you wish it at the hazard of the people's affections, and at the expence of the constitution of Ireland. Having told you what you are not, let me now tell you what you are. You are the friend of successful corruption, and an enemy to L——d T———d, because he does not practise the art of corrupting. You are the admirer and humble imitator of Junius, and a fellow labourer in the great harvest of sedition: the signature you have chosen is perhaps expressive of your disposition, take care that it may not be an omen of your catastrophe; since you would leave behind you, at best, but an ambiguous reputation to be

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resolved

resolved by your friends into an affassin, and by your enemies into a suicide.

BROGHILL.

March 3, 1770.

*The substance of a SPEECH made by H——S
L——SHE, Esq; in debate on the bill
for enabling Papists to take building leases.*

THERE is no subject of more powerful consequences, nor any which I more sincerely wish to hear fully, and soberly, and dispassionately discussed, than that, of which the present question is only a part; I mean that general system of laws, which the pious zeal of our ancestors has provided, in order to produce religious unanimity amongst us. And though we are still distinguished from almost every other Protestant country in the world, by our *continuing* to entertain such laws, yet I flatter myself the time is come, in which prejudices have so far subsided even amongst us, as that whatever our differences of opinion may be on this subject, we may venture to state those differences with temper and moderation. And it is under this persuasion, that I shall venture to lay before the House my sentiments on the *general spirit* of those laws; to the end that whilst we are deliberating on an *alteration of any part*, we may retain in our contemplation, the
tendency

tendency of the whole—That we may habituate our judgments to examine what perhaps our prejudices have held in veneration—That we may see that nothing is too sacred for enquiry—that nothing is too wise for amendment.

I have not been able, in my researches into Holy Writ, to meet with that particular passage of the Scriptures which gives us an authority to propagate the faith, by a perversion of morals——nor shall I presume to determine how far it was *ever* justifiable, for the sake of ceremonial uniformity, to build a code of religious laws upon the ruin of every moral virtue and obligation :——to sport with the most sacred feelings ;—to violate the fondest prepossessions of the human mind ;——to seduce even filial duty ; to tempt the son to become an interested and a base informer against the piety of his father, and to break the bonds of all family affection and fidelity.

Possibly there may be something so sacred in the object of these laws, as that the enormity of the means, through which they operate, is to be overlooked or forgiven ! But certain I am, that whatever peculiarities of circumstance may have originally suggested ;——whatever necessities may have originally justified the institution of those laws——the spirit of the present time opposes them ; and the prosperity of this country absolutely re-

quires, that they should, in some measure, be altered at this day.

Let us then begin with the bill which is now before us——and let us severely, but impartially, examine into its import.

It is a bill enabling, in a particular instance, the Papists to take long leases——or rather to remove a disability under which they labour of taking leases at all in cities and towns.——For in towns, nothing can operate as a lease, which does not confer a term of sufficient duration for building upon,——the lands therein being applicable to the purposes not of agriculture, but habitation.

If then you agree to this bill, you enable the Roman Catholics to expend their property in building houses, which in the end will be inhabited by Protestants; you engage them to embark with you in the *common cause*——and at the same time you provide the ultimate controul of the best regulated gavel-clause that ever was framed, at once to guard against accumulation, and to promote conformity. Thus the Papists will have in one instance (what I wish to Heaven they had in every instance) a permanent tenure in their possessions.——They will have *one* temptation (I wish to Heaven they had more) to vest their property in the national bottom——and finally this instance of toleration and indulgence, will become the most powerful instrument of conversion and amity.——If you agree to this bill, you will, so far as it operates,

rates, avail yourself of their wealth; you will enlarge their industry; you will ascertain their attachments, by the religion of an oath, and the obligation of their interest;—you will relax some of the restrictions with respect to property, which are the most *pernicious part*; you will extend the operation of the gavel, which is the most *beneficial part* of the Popery laws.

These are the advantages (and if I have stated them fairly they are great advantages) which this law promises. And therefore I cannot agree with the honourable Member, who proposes to exempt from its comprehension all *towns corporate*.—Such exemption would too much narrow the operation of a law which ought rather to be extended.—It would tend to depopulate these corporate towns—It would cause a violent flux and alteration of property—It would, like every *partial* benefit, become a *general* evil.

Thus far have I stated to you the advantages which appear to me as likely to follow from your agreeing to this bill.—Let us now examine the objections which have been raised against this measure.—They all centre in one point, and are expressed by the single word *influence*. For my own part, I am not such a visionary as to refuse any man the liberty of building an house, merely to defeat any little power, or disappoint any influence, he may by any possibility derive from it. But beside my certain conviction, that circulating

lating cash is the *most* immediate and operative instrument of power, I am guarded in the present case from apprehension by this further circumstance:—That of all degrees of dependence subsisting between landlord and tenant, the weakest is that which affects the occupiers of houses. If an house be large, it will probably be occupy'd by a person too high for influence:—If it be small, the rent will be too low to produce that effect on any man.—I argue thus upon *general* principles—exceptions to what I alledge may doubtless occur—but too few to be worthy of observation.

But suppose some real and substantial influence were to follow from this bill!—Let it be observed that the same cause which produces this influence, does provide against the ill effects of it.—For what danger can result from conferring a degree of power on any man, if in the very same act, and very same proportion, you involve his interests and affections in the public preservation.

This course of argument, I confess, appears to my understanding as decisive.

But let us take this matter into a larger scale!

If the Roman Catholics are thought dangerous—let us endeavour either to *reconcile*, or to *disarm* them.—But let us not be so absurd as, whilst we deal with them as enemies, to suffer them to hold the most dangerous of weapons *ready drawn* (if I may say so)

so) in their hands!—The wealth of the Roman Catholics, at present, may be raised almost in one day, and applied in another.—Execution on personal security (which is all they are entitled to) may be immediately obtained;—and as for government debentures, they have, or ought to have, as easy currency as the notes of bankers.—Thus the whole wealth of the Papists may, according to the present policy, be divided *from* you, or applied *against* you, at a moment's provocation;—and whilst by unequal laws, you alienate their affections, by the absurdity of those laws, you facilitate the means either of their *effectual* hostility, or *total* detachment from you.

Would it not be wiser to involve them in your general interests? If not,—does not prudence at least require that you should take from them as many hostages as possible to be pledges of their fidelity? And no hostage can be deposited so coercive on their conduct, as their *property*, invested in your lands, or your houses!

If some zealous prepossessions did not cover this subject from common reason, this policy could not stand a moment's argument.

But it sometimes happens, in the infirmity of our nature, that men even of the best understanding and greatest worth, act under the dominion of narrow prejudices, and speculative distinctions!—And I have seen men, in ordinary cases, of great moderation, gravely
and

and acrimoniously engaged in contentions, not for the great cause of religion itself, but for articles of faith and opinion, for external modes of *profession* and *worship*. And, indeed, it is much to be lamented, that in the general enlargement of the human mind, and extension of the policies of the world, we continue to view this great subject in a narrow light,—that we do not seem sufficiently disgusted with those distinctions which heretofore embued the hands of our ancestors, in the blood of persecution, and distinguished and disgraced the periods of ignorance and superstition.

In all other Protestant countries in the world, all religions and all persuasions mingle and are involved in the public cause ;—and religious distinctions, by not being marked out by the laws, cease to be distinctions at all.

Amongst these noble instances of wisdom and simplicity, which have formed the policies of the most western part of the world, permit me to mention *that pious spirit of toleration, which unites, and strengthens, and populates the colonies of America.*—*That, indeed, is the bond of union and brotherly love, which, whilst it indulges every man in the liberty of his own religious opinion, unites every part in the interest of the whole.* In those countries, the being deprived of *civil rights*, in consequence of a peculiarity of *faith*, is a thing utterly unheard of and unknown.

known.—In those countries, where their numbers are small, they know what an absurdity it would be to entertain within their community any members who have not an interest in the preservation of that community; and they know that men will not have an interest in the preservation of that community, which does not protect *them* in the enjoyment of *their* rights.

And here may I claim your indulgence whilst I read the Magna Charta of religious liberty, which I have extracted from the statute book of the province of Pennsylvania!

—The words are these:—“ Almighty
 “ God, being *only* Lord of conscience, Au-
 “ thor of all divine knowledge, faith, and
 “ worship; who can enlighten the minds;
 “ and convince the understanding of people;
 “ in due reverence of his sovereignty over
 “ the souls of mankind, and the better to
 “ unite the Queen’s christian subjects in in-
 “ terest and *affection*. Be it enacted, that no
 “ person; who shall profess faith in God the
 “ Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and shall ac-
 “ knowledge the divinity of the Holy Scrip-
 “ tures, and when lawfully required, shall
 “ profess and declare, that he will live peace-
 “ ably under the civil government, shall in
 “ any wise be molested or prejudiced for his
 “ conscientious persuasion; nor shall at any
 “ time be compell’d to frequent or maintain
 “ any religious *worship, place, or ministry*
 “ whatsoever, contrary to his mind, but
 “ shall freely and fully enjoy his christian
 T “ liberty

“ liberty in all respects, without molestation
“ or interruption.”

These are the the golden words of that christian ordinance, which has produced a degree of unanimity, that in some measure reproaches even the *reformation* itself:— they are like the sacred sentences of an oracle;—I had almost said they are like a new revelation, sent down from Heaven to produce peace, and harmony, and good will amongst men.

As for ourselves—let us consider, that the time is long since pass'd, in which the recency of an establishment required oppression for its support; or the weakness of government wished to divide, in order to subdue.——The time is come, in which you must offer the Roman Catholics one of these two alternatives;—you must either suffer them to enjoy the rights of citizens and subjects—or do them the justice to banish them from the country.——Do not think of flattering them by the supineness of laws, which may at any time be revived against them;—and do not expect their gratitude, because you are not rash enough to enforce, what you were *unjust* enough to enact against them.——Every solid argument (I wish I could say every ideal prejudice too) is now removed, which might in former times have been pleaded against them:—the establishment of a Popish prince on the throne, is become a matter beyond the reach of the most
frantic

frantic imagination.——The hopes of the house of Stuart, are the ridicule of Europe; exhibited, as they are, in the person of a poor, degraded, contemptible mendicant; without *friends*, without *property*, without *posterity*; to whom subsistence, and not empire, is become an object of ambition.——The spiritual dominion of the Pope, which formerly held the Kings of the earth in vassalage, is now, like his territory, circumscribed within the limits of an Italian province:——and as for any title to the forfeited lands in Ireland:——the Roman Catholics are not, nor cannot be, so absurd as to imagine, that under any revolution, or any establishment, their obsolete and traditional claims could overturn the laws of the land, and the settlements, possessions, entails, and alienations of an hundred years.

Let us not then continue *for ever* to maintain a system of laws, which we find, by the experience of above sixty years, do not in their operation prevent the growth of *po-p-ery*, but of *prosperity*:—laws, which are tempered in the very bigotry of that religion which they affect to reform:—laws, which from their rigorous tendency, must for ever alienate and offend; which are too severe to be executed, and therefore do not bring security:—laws, which, before they can operate, must first corrupt; which never can be *useful*, because they are not *just*. Let us not be so monstrous, as to suppose we have a right *for ever* to proscribe three fourths of the

community :—Let us not be so unwise as to *exasperate* where we cannot *disarm*.

Let the Roman Catholics, whilst they live in this country (which is the country of their ancestors) have the ordinary incitements to industry ;—and give them a just and permanent security in that property, which will be the fruit of their industry ;—and if, after all our care, the jealous precautions of the legislature should fail so far, as that any influence should follow in consequence of such security ; it is an influence which, *for their own sake*, they will employ in the preservation of a country, which they will *then* be taught to consider as their own.

The phrenzy of religious infatuation is pretty well banished from the face of the earth,—and if we do not revive it, in this country, by penalty and persecution (which have always tended to reconcile men to their errors, and make even their absurdities dear to them) we may rest assured from our knowledge of human nature, from our experience of every nation in the world, that the essential *interests*, not the speculative *opinions* of men, will be their ultimate concern ; and that the wishes and affections, the heart and the sword of every man shall be directed to the defence of that country, which affords him justice, tranquillity, and protection.

The enemies, indeed, of our constitution and national importance, have long wished to preserve amongst us those distinctions, which
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break us into different interests; make us easy of subjection; and, as has been said, render even our population our weakness.—

But I hope that we, in the wisdom of some unprejudiced hour, shall disappoint the malice of their wishes——by doing justice to all, that we shall make every man a party with us in the public preservation. By making men happy, make their attachment invincible; and induce, if possible, every man in the community, to say, “ I will exert myself “ in defence of the present establishment, because I know my situation cannot be made “ better by any change.”

These are my sentiments on this great subject:—they are the sentiments of a man neither influenced on the one side by prejudice, nor seduced on the other by interest:—on the contrary, whatever property I have has been the forfeiture of a Popish proprietor.—They are the sentiments of a man who wishes to promote the Protestant religion, by every method which is conformable to virtue, and consistent with safety.—I have, however, been accused of partiality to the Papists!—I have no partiality to them, except *that* which a generous mind naturally entertains towards the oppressed.—As for their religious forms, I dislike them.—As for their superstitions, I detest them.—And as for their civil principles, so long as the present laws subsist, I must think them suspicious.—But it is in those very laws that these exceptions exist;
and

and unless you relax the former, you will never remove the latter: for bigotry ever flourishes under persecution, and civil attachment cannot well be the growth of oppression.

To conclude, I am a friend to this bill, as a friend to religion, the strength and the improvement of my country; and I am an enemy to the Popery laws, so far as they are subversive of these great objects.

The COURTIER'S CREED, for the year
1771.

1. **W**HOSOEVER would be an HIRBERNIAN COURTIER, it is now necessary, before all mental endowments, that he expounds rightly the law of Poyning, as explained by the 4th and 5th chapters of Philip and Mary.

2. Which exposition, unless he keeps pure and unmixed with any rational interpretation, unquestionably he cannot enjoy place or pension, neither shall he receive concordatum in this kingdom.

3. Now, the true construction of Poyning's law, is that four different branches of the legislation always to be acknowledged in one Irish Privy Council constantly subsisting.

5. For in the enacting of every law, the King hath a deliberate voice, the Lords have
a de-

deliberative, the Commons have a deliberative, and the Privy Council have a deliberative.

5. The King hath a negative voice, the Lords a negative, the Commons a negative, and the Council a negative.

6. And yet there are not four deliberatives, or four negatives, but one deliberative, and one negative, frequently exercised against King, Lords, and Commons, by his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.

7. Further, it is essential to the preservation of his present place, and to his future hopes of preferment, that he conceives just ideas of the origination of money-bills.

8. His *interest*, then, will ever oblige him to confess that all benevolences, or FREE GIFTS, from the people, constitutionally take their rise in an assembly, neither made or created by, or proceeding from the people.

9. This is the HIBERNIAN COURTIER's political faith, which, whosoever inviolably adheres to, shall be rewarded with a masked pension for himself, and a fancied ball, without masks, for his wife and daughters.

10. And for all those, who reject the foregoing liberal explanation, there shall be protests, prorogations, partial sheriffs, packed juries, and influenced electors, even until their lives end.

11. As it was in the arbitrary reigns of the House of Stuart, so it shall continue, whilst venality

venality and dissipation prove useful engines in the hands of a corrupt administration.

To the COMMITTEE for conducting the
FREE-PRESS.

GENTLEMEN,

YOUR correspondent, Hortensius, has observed, " that when the kingdom is injured in a few instances only, it may not be treachery to moderate opposition, we refer to the general character and known tendency of government ;" if this favourable interpretation of their actions can ever be merited by *administration*, the leaders of opposition (the known and firm friends of their country) have at least a right to equal candour, at the tribunal of the public : If therefore, in the question of suspending four members of Parliament, some gentlemen have mistaken our constitution ; it is no imputation to their characters, no impeachment of their conduct in other instances. The friends of the Castle, who boast of a victory upon that occasion, have no cause to exult in the success of their management ; a majority of twelve against them, had, on that very day, shewn the weakness of government ; the question of suspension was decided by the impartial wisdom of a number of members generally
in

in opposition; in their defence, I am not afraid to enter the lists with Hortensius, and to ascribe to them the character not only of impartial and sensible men, but, on this occasion, of *preservers of the constitution*; my reasons for thinking so, I submit, gentlemen, to your impartiality, and to that of the public. Hortensius asserts, that suspension is not an unconstitutional *idea*; and endeavours to shew that those dangers which are justly apprehended from the assumed powers of another House of Commons, are not to be feared, though the doctrine of *suspension* should be admitted. He asserts, “that with respect to “the Member, expulsion is *more severe*.” I admit, gentlemen, that it is so; but, I say, that it may yet be less UNCONSTITUTIONAL with respect to the constituent; for in the case of suspension, the constituent has no power to choose an innocent person, in the room of the guilty; had Hortensius been content to *palliate* this measure by an appeal to analogy or to precedent, I should not have envied him the possession of such a defence. I admit that the power of suspension *has* been exercised, as well as that of inflicting *corporal punishments*, and of *imposing fines*, though by no means so frequently. But when he asserts it to be a *constitutional idea*, when he insinuates that it should be revived after the disuse of near and hundred years, when he appeals to reason and justice, the only recommendations of precedent, I must deny so *dangerous* a position; I must condemn the

doctrine of reviving those claims of the House of Commons, which were in use *before* the revolution; for I know *how far* the doctrine would extend, if admitted. The disuse, during the times of *wisdom* and *liberty*, has more weight with my mind than a few precedents during the times of *bondage* and *ignorance*. The argument lies in a narrow compass; *during the suspension* of a representative, is not the constituent *deprived* of his representative in Parliament? Has he, or has he not a constitutional right to be represented? Has he a power of choosing another in the place of the offender? Has the nation its full number of representatives, whilst four of them are disabled from acting? Is it not a grievance where the constituents are obstinately refused, even the *one* man who is their favourite? Is it not a *greater* grievance to be precluded from *even the second* man of their choice, or the *third*, or the *fourth*, or any representative at all? Hortensius has attempted to answer this plain argument; take his own words, “with respect to the constituent, expulsion is not more lenient than suspension; because, during the interval between expulsion and a new election, the electors are unrepresented; and because, during a similar interval, in the instance of suspension, they may apply for their member, until which application they cannot complain; and until the refusal of which application, Parliament cannot be called severe.” To this I answer, it is a
gross

gross absurdity to infer, that men are *not injured*, because they have a power to petition for *redress*; that Parliament *can* be called severe, not only when when they *refuse* a just complaint, but whenever they give foundation for one; but I will suppose with Hortensius, that the constituents apply for their Members,——is their application to be disregarded? are the Commons to deny them redress? are they to continue the suspension? If they are, then the grievance remains; the constituent remains without a Representative, or a power of choosing one. On the other hand, do the Commons recall the suspension? If they give the constituent *redness*, they confess that he has been *aggrieved*. They concur with me in pronouncing the complaint to be well founded. The grievance, indeed, may be redressed, but does it follow from thence that it was *no* grievance. The Members, indeed, may be restored, but, *quæ fuit causa reditus, nisi fuit injusta discessio*. But Hortensius points out to us afterwards, *another* mode of redressing the electors, namely, the *expulsion* of the Members; I omit to consider, whether it be constitutional to punish a man twice for the same crime, but let Hortensius recollect, that if the House choose this mode of redressing, they establish the very position which I assert, and which he denies; to wit, that expulsion is the more lenient measure to the constituent; so much so, that the one is the *evil*,

and the other the *remedy*. Let Hortensius observe, that I am speaking of the *doctrine* of suspension and its effects, not of the character and principles of some very respectable persons, who, in an unguarded hour, seemed to give it their sanction. I have no doubt, that upon an application from the electors, *they* would have restored them to the rights of representation. But I say, that in other hands, this power might subvert the constitution, though I am certain, that *worthy* men would attend to the desire of the constituent; yet it is not to be supposed *in general*, that the men who offer an injury, are therefore likely to redress it. The successors of this Parliament may adopt the practice of *suspending*, and may not give ear to those who complain of the suspension; they may alledge—"Suspension is a *constitutional idea*, the electors are not aggrieved; the Parliament of 1772 would not have set us an example of any thing unconstitutional; to recall our act, would be to condemn that Parliament and ourselves; for if we admit, that the electors *suffer* an injury, we cannot deny, but that we are the men who have *injured*."—Let Hortensius reflect, that a corrupt majority in Parliament is no ideal danger; that the only remedy lies in the appeal to the constituent. If the House can expel and *disqualify*, a majority may get rid of every *troublesome* or *able* opponent; but still others will come in, in their room, and a *defection* amongst

amongst the corrupt may, at some time, cast the balance on the popular side; but the power of suspension is a more compleat auxiliary to a wicked administration. The constituent has no power of substitution, and the deserters of tyranny would find no opposition to unite with. Let Hortensius be also cautious, how he asserts the power of punishing for *constructive contempts*. There may come a time, when the *crime*, the *offender*, and the *punishment* may be all made at once;—when men, equally guilty, may escape, and others, entirely innocent, may be included in a condemnation, not from *mistake* but from *partiality*. The powers of the English House of Commons would never have become formidable, had they not grown in better times, under the inattentive eye of public confidence. Good men, inflamed by public injuries, may overlook a danger, whilst they are revenging an insult; but they will hardly thank an advocate, who ascribes to them his own indiscretion; who thinks their hours of reflection are not hours of caution and sagacity; who lays down a momentary indiscretion as a fixed principle, as the considered sentiment of their minds, or as the rule of their conduct.

JEKYLL.

To

To the COMMITTEE for conducting
the FREE-PRESS.

A LIST of the P A C K,

Tune——BALLYNAMONY.

I.

FELLOW citizens all to my ballad give
ear,
That we must be undone I will make it ap-
pear,
Unless in defence of your freedom we stand,
'Gainst T——d, that dunce, and his dam-
nable band.

Then kick out those rascally knaves, boys,
Freemen we'll be to our graves, boys,
Better be dead than be slaves, boys,
A coffin or freedom for me.

II.

But plainly to prove what I here have set
down,
Regardless and fearless who smile or who
frown,
As a palpable proof that all must go to rack,
I'll give you their marks, and a list of the
pack.

Then kick out those rascally knaves, &c.

III.

At the head of the list set down A——y
 first,
 The chief of his favourites, because he's the
 worst,
 To shew himself worthy and fit for his trust,
 Without judgment a Judge, he makes justice
 unjust.
 Then kick out those rascally knaves, &c.

IV.

Frank A——s comes next, of corruption
 the sink !
 What a dog must he be, who's a rogue in his
 drink ;
 No wonder he's fat, since our mis'ry's his
 food,
 And he daily gets drunk with poor Ireland's
 life-blood.
 Then kick out those rascally knaves, &c.

V.

Lo T——l, whose look would make ho-
 nest men start,
 Who hangs out in his face the black sign of
 his heart ;
 If you thought him no Devil his aim he
 would miss,
 For he would, if he could, appear worse than
 he is.
 Then kick out those rascally knaves, &c.

VI.

VI.

Yet T——l unfeeling, and void of remorse,
Is still not the worst, H——y H——n's
worse——

Who feels ev'ry crime, yet his feelings defies,
And each day stabs his country with tears in
his eyes.

Then kick out those rascally knaves, &c.

VII.

See squinting T——e, from the Primate's
black school,
Whom merciful nature design'd for a fool ;
G——e, who not even his folly can save,
For in nature's despight he will needs be a
knave.

Then kick out those rascally knaves, &c.

VIII.

If a sinner, repentant, can Angels delight,
To Devils, an apostate's as pleasing a sight ;
Nor has there been ever such bonfires in Hell,
Since Judas's fall, as when O——e fell.

Then kick out those rascally knaves, &c.

IX.

But why must I mention the Knight of
Three Crows,
His name is unworthy of verse, or of prose ;
To lash such a reptile would satire disgrace,
And 'tis but *ex officio* he here has a place.

Then kick out those rascally knaves, &c.

X.

I.

II.

My name is Dick White, I'm a weaver by
trade;
I hide not my name, since of none I'm afraid;
X And

And though I want wit, and my verse rudely
jingle,
I'll tell you a story shall make your ears tingle.
Derry down, &c.

III.

Our King, Heaven bless him, and keep
him from ill !
Our friend has been ever, and would be so
still ;
A curse on those traitors, who make him ap-
pear
At odds with his people, that hold him so dear !
Derry down, &c.

IV.

This rascally herd, to the Devil I pitch 'em !
Must we toil and labour, and sweat to enrich
'em ?
To serve their own purpose, and mischievous
ends,
First strove to enslave our American friends.
Derry down, &c.

V.

Nor even of our brethren of England afraid,
With Star chamber warrants their rights to
invade ;
And to bring all their villainous schemes to
perfection,
They strike at the root, and the right of elec-
tion !

Derry down, &c.

VI.

VI.

And next at poor Ireland they level their
 blows ;
 Poor Ireland, that has still been led by the
 nose !
 And to shew they resolv'd both to ruin and
 fool her,
 They sent over T——d, that blunderer, to
 rule her !

Derry down, &c.

VII.

This T——d, they knew, would their
 purposes suit,
 For the creature he was and the tool of Lord
 B——e ;
 To wade through their dirt he could never
 refuse,
 For, his character lost, he had nothing to lose.

Derry down, &c.

VIII.

But, lest we should struggle, the villains
 determine,
 To add to our number of red-coated vermin ;
 And swearing, 'twas all for the good of the
 nation,
 They got us to yield to their curs'd augmen-
 tation.

Derry down, &c.

IX.

And now we have granted them all they
could ask,
They laugh at our folly, and throw off the
mask;
Then aim a bold stroke, all at once to undo,
Our honour, our freedom, and property too,
Derry down, &c.

X.

The Commons, you know, who to us
owe their station,
Are our stewards to take care of the purse of
the nation;
But now they declare, when our money is
wanted,
That the Council, as well as the Commons,
shall grant it.
Derry down, &c.

XI.

But G— blefs our Commons, I mean the
majority,
For Dick wou'd not cry, if he damn'd the
minority!
At once they perceiv'd what a mischief was
brewing,
And flung out the bill that was meant for
our ruin.

Derry down, &c.

XII.

XII.

There's Lanesborough, and Shannon, and
Leinster unite,
Brave Leinster, our patron, whom naught can
affright !
All their friends to the House in a hurry they
send,
Who, with Ponsonby join'd, may our free-
dom defend.

Derry down, &c.

XIII.

And Charelemont firm, may the Heavens
reward him !
Whose heart is still open to us, like his gar-
den ;
And Loftus * so powerful, and Longford so
true,
All bring up their squadrons the fight to re-
new.

Derry down, &c.

XIV.

O'Brien, and Bingham, and Hufsey, and
Bushe,
With Flood at their head, the court parricides
push,

* since the first publication of the above ballad, this noble Lord, in contempt of every social tie, has deserted his country and his friends.

And Brownlowe, and Pery, who reason so
just,

And Lucas, our Lucas, still true to his trust!

Derry down, &c.

XV.

In fine the Court's routed, and Ireland is
sav'd,

With such champions as these, we can ne'er
be enslav'd!

But now, see the spite of the rascally crew,
To the Devil I pitch them, and give him
his due.

Derry down, &c.

XVI.

Our worthy L——t comes down to the
House,

Protests it's proceeding are not worth a louse,
And leaving undone the affairs of the nation,
The session concludes with a damn'd proro-
gation.

Derry down, &c.

XVII.

Here mark, my dear friends, that our
ruin's compleated,
Since a Parliament's useless, which thus can
be treated;

While they serve his curs'd purpose, he'll fawn
and colloque 'em,

But if once they do right, he'll that instant
prorogue 'em.

Derry down, &c.

XVIII.

XVIII.

The next thing he does, by a sentence un-
just,
He turns out our friends from their places of
trust;
Our friends, who his villainies dar'd to op-
pose,
And fills up their room with our deadliest
foes.

Derry down, &c.

XIX.

There's Renegade O——e, and O——r
mean,
And M——n the maltster, that scoundrel
in grain,
And Jacky, whose merits if we would make
known,
'Tis enough that we say, he's your brother
T——e.

Derry down, &c.

XX.

O why should I mention these wretches in
place,
Their rascally names would my ballad dis-
grace!
In short, T——d chose them in frolicksome
prank,
As matches for J——s, and for Bloomf-
bury Frank.

Derry down, &c.

XXI.

XXI.

And now I have ended my sorrowful tale,
 I see you all weep, and poor Ireland bewail;
 But courage, my friends, still there's hope
 left behind,
 All yet may be well, if my council you'll
 mind.

Derry down, &c.

XXII.

Those patriots, who late we so steady have
 found,
 Heaven bless them, and keep them, are still
 above ground;
 United together, our bulwark they stand,
 And may still save the nation, if we lend a
 hand.

Derry down, &c.

XXIII.

Should T——d dissolve, then the mat-
 ter is plain,
 Without sixpence cost, we'll return them
 again;
 And ridding the House of those rascally elves,
 We'll give them companions will vote like
 themselves.

Derry down, &c.

XXIV.

That G——d may bless Ireland, our prayer
 should be daily,
 And save her from A——y, A——s, and
 H——y,

And

And we'll pray for our King, and a few of
our Peers,
And may our true Commons live out their eight
years.

Derry down, &c.

XXV.

My loyalty's firm, and be hang'd I would
rather
Than dare to deny that our King is our fa-
ther;
But then 'tis as true, that our country's our
mother,
And that side we all know's much surer than
t'other.

Derry down, &c.

XXVI.

Then let us with shouts our brave patriots
pursue;
And firmly stick by them whatever they do;
For freemen were are, and will be to our
graves,
Since they, who have courage, need never
be slaves.

Derry down, down, down derry down.

Y

F I N I S.

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